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ABSTRACT

These papers reflect the impact that early childhood teachers have on their students when they "stand in front of the classroom" and the effect their performance and characteristics have on children. After "Introduction: Factors that Impact Teacher Quality" (Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek), 11 papers include: (1) "The Preparation of Teachers for the Profession in Early Childhood Education" (Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek); (2) "The Possibilities and Challenges of 'Not Knowing': Early Childhood Teachers' Knowledge and Thinking in Uncertain Times" (Glenda Mac Naughton); (3) "The Importance of Teachers' Subjective Perceptions of Educational Innovations: The Case of Adaptive Teaching" (Rudolf van den Berg and Peter Sleegers); (4) "Transforming Pathways in Becoming an Early Childhood Teacher" (Joy Goodfellow and Jennifer Sumsion); (5) "Accountability in Early Childhood Care and Education" (Martha J. Buell and Donald L. Peters); (6) "Gender and Schoolwork in the United States 1850-1920" (Jackie M. Blount); (7) "Beliefs of Early Childhood Teachers" (Johanna Einarsdottir); (8) "Creativity and Teacher-Student Interactions" (Donna Tafuri and Olivia N. Saracho); (9) "Teachers' Cognitive Styles and Their Instructional Implications" (Olivia N. Saracho); (10) "Sensei: Early Childhood Education Teachers in Japan" (Susan D. Holloway and Yoko Yamamoto); and (11) "Improving Teacher Quality" (Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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Olivia N. Saracho
Bernard Spodek

A VOLUME IN: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

SPN 1680

Studying Teachers in Early Childhood Settings

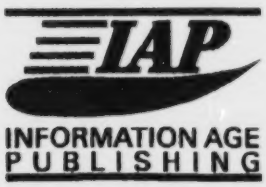
A Volume in
Contemporary Perspectives in Early Childhood Education

3

Studying Teachers in Early Childhood Settings

Edited by

Olivia N. Saracho
and
Bernard Spodek



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INTRODUCTION

FACTORS THAT IMPACT ON TEACHER QUALITY

Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek

INTRODUCTION

For more than two decades the American public has been concerned about the quality of education provided in the schools. This concern has lead to an educational reform that focuses on increasing the level of quality in education. One proposal is to improve the quality of teachers in the schools by only permitting those individuals who have demonstrated an acceptable level of knowledge and competence to teach. Teaching young children requires a high level of commitment, knowledge, and skill (Saracho & Spodek, 1993). Teacher education programs prepare prospective teachers to achieve the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are essential in teaching. These programs base their teacher preparation on research, theory, and practice (Saracho, 1993). However, school cultures also provide information that contribute to teachers' knowledge by providing them with intellectual challenges and ways to manage them (Corrie, 2000). Thus, improving the quality in teaching young children for the educational reform includes professionalizing the field of early childhood educa-

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tion. Such measures require that the practice of early childhood education, the way society values this practice, and the nature of professionalism be examined (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1996).

SOURCES OF TEACHER QUALITY

The present concern with teacher quality derives from several sources. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) report generates the argument that well-qualified teachers have an impact on children's learning. Local school systems have also initiated attempts to raise academic standards and accountability systems leading to the conclusion..."teacher quality would ultimately determine the success of such efforts" (Sack, 2000, p. 25).

Teacher quality is a major item in the education policy agenda for educators, parents, government agencies, business, industry, private foundations, and education policy makers. Hundreds of governmental and private groups are studying teacher quality and recommending ways to improve teacher quality (Evans, Stewart, Mangin, & Bagley, 2001).

Those who believe in the importance of teacher quality assert that the absence of an adequate number of well-qualified teachers is a major problem. However, the education reform movement has caused a keen consciousness of the problem (Evans, et al., 2001). The position of the education reform movement is noted by John E. Jennings, the director of the Center on Education Policy, "We have exhausted ourselves talking about standards and accountability and choice. Now, we've come to realize a lot depends on who's standing at the front of the classroom" (Sack, 2000, p. 29). This realization raises the issue of asserting the effect of the quality of the teacher who is standing in front of the room has on the learning of the children in the classroom.

OVERVIEW OF VOLUME

The chapters in this volume reflect the impact that teachers have on their students when "they stand in front of the classroom" and the effect their performance and characteristics has on children such as teachers' gender, preparation, certification, knowledge, beliefs, cognitive style, creativity, accountability, and actions on the part of teachers. They describe research related to the preparation and certification or credentialing of early childhood practitioners, the issues regarding the nature of early childhood practice, and the needs of the field as it prepares for the future.

Chapter 1, "The Preparation of Teachers for the Profession in Early Childhood Education" by Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek, discusses early childhood education as a profession, the preparation of teachers, the six components of an early childhood teacher education program (e.g., recruitment and selection, general education, professional foundations, instructional, knowledge, practice, and program modification), variations on certification (e.g., full certification, alternative forms of certification, exempted certification, credentialing), and the use of mentoring programs.

In the early childhood field, a group of scholars known as 'reconceptualists' have challenged the objectivity of the knowledge base of early childhood education. Drawing on various 'post-knowledge' theories, including postmodernism, postcolonialism, poststructuralism, these scholars argue that it is time to rethink (or reconceptualize) the knowledge base of early childhood education. Chapter 2, "'The Possibilities and Challenges of Not Knowing': Early Childhood Teachers' Knowledge and Thinking in Uncertain Times" by Glenda Mac Naughton explores what happens when a group of 12 early childhood professionals involved in an in-service program engage with 'post-knowledge' and critically reflect on its implications for their teaching practices. It uses teachers' voices to chart the challenges that teachers face and the possibilities they explore. The chapter concludes by asking, 'Who benefits and who loses when teachers learn to think as a 'post-pedagogue?"

Education is in constant flux, which evokes tensions within the educational system including teachers and school leaders. Well-founded, empirically-based scientific insights about teaching and learning have emerged where individual differences are being focused in the form of adaptive teaching. Adaptive teaching refers to

1. adjusting instruction to each student's needs,
2. providing a pedagogical climate where students feel accepted and safe,
3. providing an environment where students are challenged to achieve to the best of their ability, and
4. examining and contemplating the manner in which they look at the differences between students.

In Chapter 3, "The Importance of Teachers' Personal Work Concepts for the Implementation of Educational Innovations: The Case of Adaptive Teaching," Rudolf van den Berg and Peter Sleegers discuss this difficult task by delineating adaptive teaching and describing a coherent approach to successful implementation of adaptive teaching involving four domains that continually influence each other (teachers' personal work concepts, the content of the teaching, the organization of the school, and the interventions). They describe the four domains from numerous reflections on

strategies for innovation, and from considerable research on innovations. Then they conclude that these domains are of critical importance for the quality of innovations and positive results, and are viewed as a cohesive whole. They express how the individual professional development of teachers and school leadership are well-attuned to each other. They specifically focus on the concerns and subjective perceptions of the teachers. Teachers frame their own personal system of knowledge, skills, and attitudes in relation to adaptive teaching and also work on their professional development. They assume that learning experiences can influence this; they therefore recommend that considerable learning opportunities be provided to teachers in a way that they are challenged to develop smaller experiments (or action studies) to promote adaptive teaching.

Recent literature concerned with teacher education has called for a "more holistic and critical approach to interrogate and challenge the structures and mythology of teacher education" (Wideen et al, 1999). Such challenges also abound in early childhood education.

In Chapter 4, "Transformative Pathways to Becoming an Early Childhood Teacher," Joy Goodfellow and Jennifer Sumsion reflect on changing views within early childhood education about the nature of professional practice and what it means to be an early childhood teacher. The essence of being an early childhood teacher is represented by a relational domain that reflects the importance placed on the development of effective relationships. In taking an ecological perspective, the authors describe some transformative pathways through which student teachers may pass as they move towards becoming an early childhood teacher. Their chapter raises issues pertinent to teacher education programs responsible for the preparation of early childhood personnel.

In the political climate of the past decade, the issue of accountability has been at the vanguard of priorities in education. This has been recurrently framed in terms of school improvement, educational reform, or choice. However, the fundamental issue is accountability: who is to be held accountable for student learning and what should be the consequences of success or failure. Although the debates usually focus on improving the quality of elementary and secondary education, the field of the early childhood education and care is not immune from it. Early education and care has not been at the center of the accountability debate, but the debate has direct relevance to issues of quality in early childhood programming. In addition, similarities and differences exist between accountability issues in early childhood education and child care and in the more general accountability in the public schools.

In Chapter 5, "Accountability in Early Childhood Care and Education," Martha J. Buell and Donald L. Peters review several key areas of the accountability debates as they apply to early childhood education and child care. They take a multi-tiered approach to the questions, "Who is accountable?" and, "What consequences should be attached to success and

failure." The section, "Looking at the answers to the questions at the government, institution, program, teacher, parent and child levels," provides a view of where accountability will drive the study of teachers in early childhood education and child care over the next decade.

The education of young children has not always been "women's work." In the early 1800's, women taught neighboring children in their homes, while men taught young boys and, eventually, girls, basic academic skills. The economic and social contexts of the nineteenth century directed communities to hire women to teach. Women eagerly took this opportunity to enter into a respectable position in the public realm by teaching young children with great passion and purpose. As this hiring pattern solidified around the country, teaching became designated as gender-appropriate for women, rather than men. By the early twentieth century, teaching had been completely assigned to women rather than men. Those men who wished to teach young children were considered unfit for the work because of suspected effeminacy (Blount, 1998; Waller, 1932).

Chapter 6, "Gender and Schoolwork in the United States" by Jackie M. Blount, describes the traditional gender-segregation that has caused teaching young children to be viewed as women's work, even though men have controlled school administration and the instruction of older adolescence. The chapter describes

a. the evolution of this tradition in specific historical circumstances;
b. concepts of acceptable sexuality that have worked hand-in-hand with those for gender, reinforcing and shaping the work in important ways that tend to escape critical analysis; and
c. the power of these concepts that have kept rigid patterns of gender segregation in schoolwork in place comfortably into the twenty-first century.

How teachers function reflects their beliefs, although they might not be aware of them. Since beliefs are to a great extent tacit, it is essential that methods be used to discover teachers' beliefs. Chapter 7, "Beliefs of Early Childhood Teachers," by Johanna Einarsdottir, reviews the methods used to uncover teachers' beliefs while cautioning that the methodology and the instruments used can affect the research results. The French philosopher Descartes, almost four centuries ago, observed that in order to discover the real beliefs of individuals, it is more important to observe what they do rather than what they say (Arnason, 1982), and researchers in the field of early childhood teachers' beliefs have approached the problem of understanding teachers' beliefs by developing methodologies that use researchers' observations of teacher behavior in combination with teachers' comments about that behavior in order to discover their beliefs. Einarsdottir also reviews the literature on early childhood teachers' beliefs and relationships between beliefs and practices. She concludes that

researchers in the field of early childhood teachers' beliefs accept the idea that teachers' thought processes and the beliefs they hold about their roles can affect their teaching and learning and shape their pedagogy.

Educators, researchers, and theorists are currently focusing on human creativity. Recent research on creativity explore the teachers' impact on their classroom children's creativity. According to Guilford (1959),

> . . . With the information that most of the creative-thinking abilities are in the divergent-thinking category, the teacher can seek opportunities to call for divergent thinking. In transmitting our culture to the younger generation, we naturally stress conventional answers to problems, hence we emphasize convergent thinking. In urging that we need more emphasis upon divergent thinking on the part of students, I am not advocating that we attempt to create a generation of young rebels. It should be possible to teach appreciation for those things from the past that are good as well as to encourage students to see how things might be done better (p. 27).

According to Esquivel (1995), researchers believe that teachers can facilitate the children's creative development when they

a. understand the nature of creativity as a discrete process that is adaptable to learning;
b. implement innovative educational reform and practices;
c. adapt their instructional behaviors and learning environments to effectively foster creativity; and
d. develop and assess creative curriculum methods and programs.

The role of the teacher in creative teaching may be subsumed under the broad category of "teacher effectiveness" research, which documents the impact that teachers have on the students' learning. The role of the teacher in creative teaching becomes critical at the early childhood level when it is the most influential age of the young children's lives since it is the time when their learning can be cultivated or stifled. Chapter 8, "Creativity and Teacher-Student Interactions" by Donna Tafi.iri and Olivia N. Saracho, reviews the literature in the areas of creativity and teacher-student interactions in relation to creativity and learning.

Researchers have been concerned about the teachers' performance in the classroom and about how to improve their performance, though teaching requires both performance capabilities and cognitive functioning. Teaching requires thinking about what one does before, during, and after their actions, thereby constructing an intellectual foundation for performance (Saracho, 1988). One component of cognitive functioning that researchers have studied extensively is cognitive style.

Cognitive styles are consistent ways individuals organize (Riding & Rayner, 1998) and refine information (Saracho, 1999). The teachers' cognitive styles intermingle with specific elements in the classroom and have

an impact on educational practice, embodying "how students learn, how teachers teach, how teachers and students interact, and how students make their educational choices" (Witkin, Moore, Goodenough, & Cox, 1977, p. 2). Chapter 9, "Teachers' cognitive Styles and Their Instructional Implications" by Olivia N. Saracho, describes

1. the field dependence independence dimension of cognitive style,
2. studies that explore the interactive effects of teachers' and students' field dependent (FD) and field independent (FI) cognitive styles, and
3. ways to assist teachers in enriching their teaching performance.

Americans have often compared their schools with those of the Japanese. Sometimes this can become a schizophrenic experience. Often, Western observers admire the Japanese educational system, although many Japanese voice deep reservations and serious concerns about it. The worry about the rise in serious incidents of bullying in elementary and junior high schools, the growing number of children who refuse to attend school, and the "collapse" of classrooms where unruly students openly rebel against their teachers. The American view is that Japan provides a model for good educational practices, and less interest is shown in analyzing the problems or analyzing reform efforts there. Chapter 10, "Sensei: Early Childhood Education Teachers in Japan" by Susan D. Holloway and Susan D. Holloway and Yoko Yamamoto, presents a balanced view of the role of teachers in the Japanese early education system. Japanese early childhood teachers, overwhelmingly women, have difficulty maintaining a healthy balance between work and family obligations and desires. They fear significant negative consequences of their work on their quality of life and that of their families. Retention of good teachers is of major importance; it is simply a waste of society's resources to invest in college level training for women who only remain in the work place for an average of four or five years. In addition, women perceive that to remain in a professional position, they must opt out of marriage and child rearing. This creates a sense of urgency as the policy makers and educators address the underlying attitudes and policies that make it both difficult—and rewarding—to be a teacher in Japan.

The final chapter, "Contemporary Perspectives in Improving Teacher Quality" by Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek, focuses on the impact the quality of teachers has in early childhood teacher preparation programs and on young children. The quality of teachers results not only from their personal characteristics but also from the preparation for teaching they have received. Recently, discussions in field have focused on the preparation of teachers, on the professional status of practitioners, and on the contradictions in the early childhood educational system. In order to improve the status of teachers, we might raise the criteria for admission to

early childhood teaching. Obviously teachers' level of preparation has an impact on their level of professionalism (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1996). Professionalism in early childhood education refers to executing things efficiently, at the right time, and for the right reasons. Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek conclude the chapter by providing future directions in improving the quality of teachers.

Together. the chapters in the volume address the present state of knowledge that recognizes that the quality of an educational program depends on the quality of the teachers who staff them. This volume helps the field to better understand the elements that constitute teacher quality. It also suggests directions to researchers in examining the different fl.mctions and settings of the teachers, identifying the implications of what we know about those who have an influence on young children's lives. The content of this volume should help to extend the boundaries of our knowledge and expand our horizons, especially those of researchers, scholars, and teacher educators in early childhood education who have been contributing to the improvement of young children's learning.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS FOR THE PROFESSION IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek

> Every experience is a moving force. Its value can be judged only on the ground of what it moves toward and into. . . It is the business of the educators to see in what direction an experience is heading... so as to judge and direct it. (Dewey, 1938, p. 39).

Public critiques of teachers and teacher education as well as scholarly debates within the profession have long existed in the educational scene. For approximately five years, these highly politicized battles about teacher education have been confounded by torrid media commentaries, public discourse harassments, and charges by legislative reformers at the state and federal levels (Cochran-Smith, 2001a, 2001b; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001). Michael Apple (1990) insists that:

> Discussions about what does, can, and should go on in classrooms are not the logical equivalent of conversations about the weather. They are fundamen-

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> tally about the hopes, dreams, fears, and realities—the very lives—of millions of children, parents, teachers... Until we take seriously the extent to which education is caught up in the real world of shifting and unequal power relations, we will be living in a world divorced from reality. The theories, policies, and practices involved in education are *not* technical. They are inherently ethical and political, and they ultimately involve—once this is recognized—intensely personal choices. (p. viii)

Schools, colleges, and departments of education are initially challenged to adapt their teacher preparation program for all levels (e.g., elementary, secondary, early childhood) for their National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) accreditation. Each teacher preparation program develops its own conceptual framework based on its belief system or "conceptual orientation" (Feiman-Nemser, 1990), which "constitutes a source of ideas and practices" (p. 277) that oversees the preparation of teachers and other school personnel. In preparing for a NCATE accreditation, the program develops a unified conceptual framework that synthesizes the different thoughts of its faculty (Peca & Isham, 2001).

In recent debates about how to reform teacher education, the trend implies or asserts that programs should be neutral, apolitical, value free, and grounded exclusively in empirical evidence rather than be ingrained within or related to specific agendas that are both political and ideological. Cochran-Smith (2002) recommends that the best way to reform teacher education and provide quality teachers for America's schools is to go beyond assessing the evidence. She believes that it is important to debate and cull the diverse ideological and political facets of reform agendas. Unless underlying ideals, ideologies, and values (e.g., purpose of schooling, worthwhile knowledge) are pondered along with the "evidence," progress in understanding the politics of teacher education and the intricacies of the different reform agendas that are in conflict with one another will be delayed (Cochran-Smith, 2002).

TEACHER PREPARATION

Many early childhood practitioners enter the field without any formal preparation. In many cases the in-service education they receive once employed serves the function of a preservice teacher education program (Powell & Dunn, 1990). In some developing countries, Jamaica, for example, it has been suggested that in-service education serves the function of preservice education (Grant, 1982). In most cases, however, it is recommended, and even required, that teachers complete a program of teacher preparation prior to their initial employment. Despite longstanding criticisms of teacher education, the weight of substantial evidence indicates

that teachers who have had more preparation for teaching are more confident and successful with students than those who have had little or none.

Research shows that teachers with more preparation for teaching are more confident and successful with students than those who have had little or none (Darling-Hammond, 2000). There is little research on the effectiveness of teacher education programs in general, and only few related to the outcomes of different kinds of teacher preparation. However, the 1996 report by the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) assumes that well-qualified teachers have a great impact in children's learning. A few natural studies have been conducted in the area of child care services, where the entry standards are low enough to provide some variance in levels of education and teacher preparation among practitioners.

TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM COMPONENTS

Teacher education programs prepare prospective teachers with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they require to teach young children, which are based on research, theory, ethical considerations, and practice. Saracho and Spodek (1983) characterize six components of an early childhood teacher education program: *recruitment and selection*, *general education*, *professional foundations*, *instructional knowledge*, *practice*, and *program modification*, which are found in all teacher education programs even though their content and fractions of their whole program may differ except for the practice component.

For four- and five- year teacher education programs, the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC, 1985) provides guidelines, which the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) uses in evaluating and as a form of quality control for early childhood teacher education programs. NAEYC (1985) provides similar guidelines for two-year associate degree programs, which are advisory only since no accrediting council evaluates these programs. Associate degree programs are analogous in composition to those at the four-year institutions, but an extensive fraction of four-year teacher education programs is devoted to general education. Furthermore, two-year programs usually offer more technical or practical content; whereas four year programs tend to provide a more professional or theoretical content. A different avenue in early childhood teacher education is the Child Development Associate Credential, which was initially a credentialing system, it has now become a training program that is unlike others in many ways.

TEACHER RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

Recruiting and selecting prospective teachers is a component with a system that is employed to attract and appraise candidates. The selection methods in teacher education programs include a gamut from open admissions to the relentless application of standards. The quality and disposition of early childhood programs exclusively rely on the caliber and nature of the teachers who staff them. Criteria in selecting prospective teachers can include many of the teachers' personal features such as warmth, enthusiasm, and a businesslike attitude (Ryans, 1960); patience, maturity, energy, encouragement of individual responsibility, and ingenuity in furnishing teaching and play materials (Almy, 1975); flexibility, warmth, and a capacity to enjoy and encourage children (Katz, 1969); and the ability to plan and reflect, to tolerate ambiguity, and to make and correct inferences concerning students and teaching techniques (Clark, 1988). Although these attributes are assumed to be valuable, teacher preparation programs rarely use them in selecting prospective teachers. Assembling material that reveals the prospective teachers' features is expensive, such as completing interviews and observations. Furthermore, appraisals on these attributes are subjective in nature and easily challenged by disappointed candidates.

The majority of four-year teacher preparation programs use secondary school grades and achievement tests to select prospective teachers (Lewin & Associates, 1977), which barely predict success in teaching and the criteria frequently change. If there is a huge demand for teachers, the selection criteria becomes glib and standards are demeaned (Applegate, 1987). Two-year associate degree programs commonly apply admission procedures that are comparable to those used by four-year programs, except that admission standards are generally lowered. Some two-year programs adopt an "open admissions" policy, where they admit all candidates who have a high school diploma or an equivalent (such as a GED). Every program has some form of "rolling selection" process that requires that a successful completion of antecedent facets of the program become compulsory before being admitted into the subsequent facets of the program.

Although this process seems to be functioning effectively for most teacher preparation programs, Bowman (1990) points out that many prospective teachers from minority groups may not apply to teacher education programs or may attain a low score on standardized achievement tests that are used for evaluating candidates. It has been recommended that standards on admission tests be altered to cultivate diversity among enrollees in teacher education programs. Obtaining recurrent ethnic or socio-economic balance among practitioners is a challenged issue. Haberman (1995a, b) rejects the selection process of traditional teacher preparation programs. He argues that their present beliefs in selecting individuals that would be the most successful to teach in urban classrooms need to be mod-

ified (Haberman, 1995b). He believes that many prospective teachers select teaching as a major "do so because (1) they 'love children' and (2) they believe they can meet the general education requirements of the school education" (Haberman, 1995a, p. 31). The students who enter Haberman's urban education program are paraprofessionals who live and have worked in urban communities. Haberman selection process includes a rigorous interview process to determine the prospective teachers' persistence, eagerness to protect learners and learning, capacity to apply ideas into action, attitudes toward "at-risk" students, professional-personal outlook on students, understanding of their own fallibility, emotional and physical stamina, organizational ability, and tendency to cultivate student efforts versus innate abilities. For Haberman, urban classrooms demand a very certain ilk of teaching, a set of skills and abilities, and individuals who are bound to protect learners and learning. Haberman (1995a) believes that, "Completing your first year as a fully responsible teacher in an urban school has nothing to do with having been 'successful' in a college preparation program" (p. 2).

TEACHERS' GENERAL EDUCATION

General education in four-year or two-year programs is fundamental to all teacher education programs and indoctrinates prospective teachers in the community's culture and essential frame of the scholarly disciplines. Prospective teachers need to know the community's culture to be able to join that community and feel comfortable teaching about its culture. Such requirement is explicitly defined in the World Organisation for Early Childhood Education's (Organisation Mondiale Pour L'Education Prescolaire, OMEP) conclusions and recommendations on basic humanistic values and extending the rich traditions of Asian culture provided at the 1985 OMEP Asian Regional Conference held in Baroda, India, on the training of early childhood care and education personnel.

Each subject that is integrated in the prospective teachers' general education contributes a unique point of view, style of thinking, organization of ideas, and to the distinctive preparation of the prospective teachers. According to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1977), general education, including that for early childhood teachers, is integrated in those studies that are most widely generalizable, such as in the areas of communication skills, humanities, health and physical education, mathematics, biological and physical sciences, social sciences, and history. McGee, Wavering, Imbeau, Sullivan, Morrow, Lefever-Davis, and Ryel (2001) include educational technology with a lab under general education. College graduates need to be computer literate to be able to exist and work successfully. Lumpkin and Clay (2001) identify basic operations, cul-

tural issues, tools for productivity, communication, and research, and technology for problem solving and decision making as cavalier goals in applying technology. The National Center for Education Statistics (Jones 2001) indicates that 99% of full-time, regular public school teachers are able to use computers and the Internet in their schools. Unfortunately, barely one third of these teachers have the proficiency to use computers and the Internet for instruction. To resolve this problem, Jones (2001) suggests the need for more funding, technology training, and administration support for instructional technology.

Technology is central to education and learning in today's society. It is crucial that university faculty who are competent in technologies that promote the learning process instruct prospective teachers. Teacher education programs should become innovative leaders infusing technology into their educational programs (Lumpkin & Clay, 2001). Advances in technology-rich classrooms for those prospective teachers and university faculty who are integrating technology into their classroom programs are beginning to be identified (Cearley & Lumpkin, 2001). Although millions of dollars are being consumed in Internet connectivity and computer hardware and software, most schools continue to teach children with traditional methods that are more than half a century old. Rizza's (2000) study show that the prospective teachers' comfort levels and feelings of competence with technology fail to improve over time, but their perceptions of their knowledge about computers consistently endure. According to Brooks and Kopp (1989), the failure to use technology in the schools is partly the colleges and universities' fault for neglecting to prepare prospective teachers to employ technology as a device to promote the students' learning. Beyerbach, Walsh, and Vannatta (2001 and Clark, Martin, and Hall (2000) recommend strategies in preparing prospective teachers confidently and competently to ingrain technology into their instruction. Once schools and colleges of education develop their instruction and modeling of technology enriched programs of study, prospective teachers can have confidence and competence in using technology in their school classrooms.

The substance of early childhood education is chosen from general education from those disciplines that offer the backbone for content knowledge for early childhood education, such as language, social studies, mathematics, science, aesthetics, and humanities. Children's literature is an element of literature in general, just as art and music for children is comparable to the general areas of art and music. A discipline that is equivalent to children's literature or children's music requires that prospective teachers have knowledge of the original source of literature and music, which provides meaning and relevance to the content that will be taught to children.

TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL FOUNDATIONS

In professional foundations prospective teachers learn to reorganize their convictions about children, school, and subjects; assess a country's educational design concerning democratic ideals; and develop a more humanized image of society's education (Gillett & Laska, 1973). Through foundations courses (e.g., history, philosophy, sociology, economics, psychology, politics, anthropology) prospective teachers learn: (1) to explore and acknowledge the aims, ideas, values, influences and assumptions of an educational system; (2) to become more sensitive to the way children of different cultural backgrounds are taught in school (Skinner, 1968); and (3) to become informed concerning educational decisions (Saracho & Spodek, 1983).

Early childhood education teachers need to absorb a broad knowledge of educational foundations to become cognizant of the history and traditions of their field, of principles of child growth and development, and of learning theory. In making informed decisions, they must know about the cultural, social, and political conditions in which early childhood education operates.

Child development is a basic domain of early childhood education, because developmental level determines young children's learning capacity and developmentally appropriate materials and techniques. Early childhood teachers need to have knowledge of child development to conceive the developmental nature within the period of early childhood and those phases that antecede and succeed it. However, early childhood teachers must become cognizant of the heterogeneity within these developmental patterns, the way development occurs, the developmental forerunners, and the reality that the various developmental realms are integrated to understand and respond to the scope of individual differences within their classrooms (Peters & Klinzing, 1990). Associate degree programs generally present less content in the form of foundations courses, but child development is required in the prospective teachers' area of study.

TEACHERS' INSTRUCTIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Instructional knowledge requires teachers to have both knowledge of teaching and knowledge of theories and teaching methods, which includes *curricular knowledge*, *content knowledge*, and *pedagogical knowledge*. *Curriculum knowledge* refers to knowledge of program content and structure. *Content knowledge* is conceived in general education in relation to young children. Prospective teachers learn new theories and pedagogical methods that serve as a companion to the traditional curriculum (Guskey, 1986; Joyce &

Showers, 1982). *Pedagogical knowledge* includes those components that prospective teachers learn for both managerial and subject matter practices to master a metacognitive proficiency that allows them to apply that knowledge in a flexible mode when the context shifts and when their supervisors oversee them. According to McCarthy (1990), domains and content of pedagogical knowledge for early childhood teachers consist of conceptions of teaching and learning, which also include professional foundations (e.g., philosophical, historical, psychological foundations) as well as knowledge of the home, school, and community relations; developing and implementing the curriculum, health, nutrition, and safety; assessment procedures; and professional ethics. Pedagogical content knowledge, or the way teachers understand subject matter and they way they transform it into classroom teaching, has thus become the essential construct within the knowledge base, which includes the "wisdom of practice" (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). Shulman (1987) defines pedagogical content knowledge as:

> ...that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding... it represents the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for instruction (p. 8).

Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) believe that excellent teachers possess important knowledge, which is similar to Shulman's (1987) pedagogical content knowledge. Numerous teacher education programs provide the components of instructional knowledge in individual courses; while others consolidate this knowledge into a few courses. In instructional knowledge prospective teachers become proficient in the facets of teaching including:

1. organizing, preparing, and presenting instructional plans;
2. evaluating children and learning;
3. recognizing individual differences;
4. developing cultural awareness;
5. understanding youth;
6. managing educational resources; and
7. establishing educational policies and procedures (Shulman, 1986).

Substantial literature exists on teacher's professional knowledge and provides a variety of descriptions of the knowledge that prevails (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000; Loughran, 2002), although it omits examples of that knowledge. Loughran (2002) suggests the concept of effective reflective practice, which can help learn teacher knowledge using specific concrete examples. Effective reflective practice

revolves around the knowledge of the practice setting learned through reflection on practice to the degree that knowledge becomes meaningful and carries insights of wisdom-in-practice. He concludes that an appropriate focus on experience in teacher education can influence the development of effective reflective practice, which is important in the development of professional knowledge. The development of professional knowledge through experience can assist prospective teachers to recognize and articulate professional knowledge, indicating that they are able to integrate theory and practice (Korthagen, 2001).

Questioning the difference between theory and practice is critical while understanding effective reflective practice can assist teacher preparation programs merge both in meaningful directions. Current studies (e.g., Korthagen, 2001; Korthagen & Kessels, 1999) observe that in numerous countries teacher education programs consistently agonize in deciding whether to teach theory or practice first because they mainly neglect to merge them, which has consequences on the program's effectiveness (Loughran, 2002). Korthagen and Kessels (1999) state:

> In Freudenthal's terms one could say that in this traditional approach, knowledge about teaching is considered as a created subject and not as a subject to be created by the learner, that is, the student teacher. An approach more in line with Freudenthal's ideas about learning would take its starting point in real problems encountered by student teachers during field experiences. The student teacher would then develop his or her own knowledge in a process of reflection on the practical situations in which a personal need for learning was created . . . the emphasis shifts toward inquiry-oriented activities, interaction among learners, and the development of reflective skills . . . During the learning processes involved, the teacher education has an important role, although completely different from the traditional role of the lecturer. The kind of support that he or she should offer (including theory!) Has to be very much adjusted to the specific problems the student teachers are having. (p. 7)

Effective practice derives from the capacity to structure and restructure the setting, to create and acknowledge such structuring through action to promote the prospective teachers' wisdom-in-action and facilitate their articulation of professional knowledge. Learning through reflection is as important as reflection itself. Reflective practitioners are sensitive to the needs, issues, and concerns that are crucial in constructing practice to develop knowledge, understand the practice setting, and acknowledge this knowledge (Loughran, 2002). Saracho (1984) adopts knowledge of the classroom setting to interpret professional knowledge. She suggests that knowledge of the classroom setting can be learned through an understanding of the roles of the teachers.

Prospective teachers use instructional knowledge in their classroom practice, planning, and evaluation. Saracho's (1984) study shows six roles

teachers assume which suggest the instructional knowledge they need to function effectively in the classroom setting:

1. *Diagnostician* refers to the teachers' assessment of the children's strengths and needs to be able to design appropriate and successful learning experiences for children.
2. *Curriculum designer* refers to the teachers' curriculum development built on theories and practices of early childhood education and the community's concerns.
3. *Organizer of instruction* refers to the teachers' long-range and short-range planning of classroom activities based on the established educational goals and pertinent available resources.
4. *Manager of learning* refers to the teachers' provision of a learning environment with learning experiences related to young children's interests.
5. *Counselor/Advisor* refers to the teachers' recurrent interactions, emotional support, and guidance with children.
6. *Decision-maker* refers to the teachers' continuous decisions about children, materials, activities, and goals.

These roles demonstrate that successful performance for each role demands that early childhood teachers achieve a gamut of knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be able to implement the principles and practices of early childhood education to practical situations. Saracho (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d) assesses the consistency of these roles in a series of observational studies. Her studies support the roles of curriculum designer, organizer of instruction, and counselor/advisor; while the role of decision-maker is integrated within these roles. In an attempt to further validate these roles, Cho and Saracho (1997) identify the roles of the teacher as curriculum designer, performer of instruction, counselor/advisor, researcher, and manager of administrative affairs. The findings of the studies on the roles of the teachers suggest that Saracho's (1984) original roles be revised to: (1) an integration of organizer of instruction and manager of learning and (2) unsophisticated tasks, such as cleaning, be referred to as the teacher's responsibility even if the teacher assigns these tasks to others (Saracho, 1993). The interpretation of teachers' roles can contribute to a conceptual framework for determining the quality of good teachers. Saracho (1988a, 1988b, 1993) insists that the description of the different roles can offer some insight into the theory, knowledge, and practice teachers need to learn to assume the different roles effectively. Teacher educators must be cognizant of the prospective teachers' views concerning the roles of teachers. Prospective teachers modify their views of these roles based on the teaching contexts. Furthermore, perspective teachers, like teachers, may confuse the realities of their own behaviors in classrooms, which may develop into dissonance between their alleged

beliefs and their actual practice. Understanding the breach between the realities of teachers' experiences then their perceived images of themselves is important in helping teacher preparation programs to develop insight about the nature of teaching and the roles of teachers (Ben-Peretz, 2001).

TEACHERS' PRACTICE

The practice component of the early childhood teacher education program is composed of field experiences (e.g., workshops, observations, simulations, practica, student teaching). Each teacher education program varies in length in relation to the degree of observation and student teaching. Workshops offer prospective teachers the opportunity to acquire practical knowledge and practice teaching methods using a variety of materials. Classroom observations offer prospective teachers the fortuity to look at teachers during instruction and apply the observations of practice to theory.

Research shows that reforms in teacher education programs develop programs that merge extensive clinical preparation with course work on learning and teaching and prepare teachers who are both more effective and more likely to enter and stay in the teaching profession (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Numerous states demand that prospective teachers take part in observation of classrooms or internships, while others (e.g., Connecticut) expect that all new teachers present portfolios of their work with students (Goldhaber & Brewer, 2000). Simulations function as parallels to real practice. Prospective teachers assume a hypothetical role in a casual and confined circumstance; because it is a more effective approach for them to learn in a simulated situation than from lectures or reading. Early field experiences can be blended with foundations courses in experiences such as attending school board meetings, conferences with officials or teachers' unions, meetings with parents, and conferences with child advocacy groups. In addition, field experiences can also be provided in multiage classrooms, which is an old concept. It dates back to the one-room schoolhouse in the nineteenth century. According to Aina (2001), multiage grouping provides children with a more developmentally appropriate educational program; because it provides a "natural community of learners," concentrates on the teacher/child's interactive nature, and enables children to develop at their own individual rate. Aina (2001) believes that the focus on more developmentally appropriate programs will motivate multi-age and non-graded environments to flourish.

Field experiences can enhance the prospective teachers' performances as they learn about classroom practices such as teacher-student relationships and observe children in an assortment of instances (Borrowman,

1965). Field experiences may also provide negative experiences in the field and have a derogatory influence on the prospective teachers' attitudes and behaviors such as becoming more authoritarian, rigid, controlling, restrictive, impersonal, and custodial; and less student centered, accepting, and humanistic (Hull, Baker, Kyle, & Good, 1982; Peck & Tucker 1973; Zeichner, 1980). An element of the field experiences is the student teaching experience.

Experience in the classroom can open possibilities for prospective teachers to search for alternative means to work in the practice setting, although the first structuring without exception affects what they encounter, the disposition of the stakes they assume, and their divergent learning through action. The way prospective teachers are consumed with their actions within the practice setting, reflect on those actions, increases the probabilities that they observe the fruits of their experience. Reflection on experience compliments their learning through experience to the degree that divergent instead of convergent learning effects are favored. Such determining interplay between experience and reflection is affected by the tempo in reflection, which offers a serious bear on what they encounter and their performance. Anticipatory, retrospective, and contemporaneous reflection requires various skills, structuring potentials, and interactions with experience, which affect the prospective teachers' learning through experience (Loughran, 2002).

Effective reflective practice requires a conscientious deliberation on both "seeing" and "action" to amplify the likelihoods of learning through experience. In the practice setting, it is better to integrate both components as the stream of experiences, ceaseless challenges on decision making, and cognizant and intuitive dribbling of actions and reactions that affect the prospective teachers' understanding, which are requisitions of practice that compress and constrain learning contingencies (Loughran, 2002).

Student teaching, the most critical component in the preparation of prospective teachers (Brimfield & Leonard, 1983), can be both a negative and positive experience (Hull, Baker, Kyle, & Good, 1982; Zeichner, 1980). Studies indicate that a number of problems are innate to student teaching and field experiences. In many teacher education programs, a minimum of consanguinity exists between the academic program and the practicum. The major problems are lack of contact and communication (Beck & Kosnick, 2002) and a lack of a harmonious philosophy of teaching and learning that adjures both the university program and the practicum (Darling-Hammond, 1999). As long as education professors and cooperating teachers continue in estranged worlds, these issues will continue and a balanced, complementary procedure to teaching and learning will fail (Beck & Kosnick, 2000).

The university supervisor and cooperating teacher's responsibilities are abstruse and frequently overlap (Applegate & Lasley, 1982, 1984; Grim-

mett & Ratzlaff, 1986). Beck and Kosnick (2002) report that there is a gap between the university faculty's and cooperating teachers' impressions of their role. Cooperating teachers usually perceive their roles as a somewhat practical one, an essence of embarking student teachers into the "realities" of teaching. On the other hand, many university faculty presume that cooperating teachers should carry out an interventionist position; they are proponents of a "critical" method, searching for contemporary practices instead of only conveying them (Beck & Kosnick, 2002). Cooperating teachers have the most impact on the student teaching experience, but they are more practice-oriented and challenge research and theory in relation to practice. Furthermore, their classroom teaching may clash with the teacher preparation program's educational perspective.

Cooperating teachers provide prospective teachers with scarce evaluation on their teaching behavior and few statements of reasons to justify their practice during feedback conferences. Discussions mainly concentrate on one individual child or problem in the classroom (Griffin, Barnes, Defino, Edwards, Hukill, & O'Neal, 1983). Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann's (1985) case study show that a student teacher failed to learn how to develop and expand the instructional content and that the cooperating teacher failed to provide the student teacher with appropriate feedback. Unfortunately, O'Neal (1983) describes the university supervisors and the cooperating teachers' feedbacks as similar. It may be that often times the university supervisor is a member of the community rather than a university faculty member. The community members and the cooperating teachers may share the same knowledge, which may conflict with the university faculty members' knowledge. According to Beck and Kosnick (2002), education faculty have a limited degree of responsibility in the supervision of prospective teachers in their practicum placements. Specifically assigned supervisory staff (e.g., doctoral students, retired teachers, teachers on leave from their school board, retired education professors) assume this responsibility in many teacher education programs. If university faculty assume the responsibility of practicum supervision, they usually conduct the minimal number of school visits required to award a practice teaching grade (Beck & Kosnick, 2002; Slick, 1998). Apparently, student teachers receive scarce feedback about their teaching. Additional problems in student teaching include:

1. Student teachers lack the opportunity to observe a teaching model that uses rigorous analysis and collegiality;
2. Cooperating teachers and supervisors give inadequate feedback; and
3. university supervisors spend insufficient time with student teachers (Saracho, 1993).

A number of strategies can help teacher education programs to handle these difficulties. Bullough, Young, Erickson, Birrell, Clark, Egan, Berrie, Hales, and Smith (2002) suggest raising the amount of time student teachers spend in the field and broadening the role of the cooperating teachers to become mentor teachers to avoid soloing in student teaching. In addressing this problem, a study by Bullough, Birrell, Young, Clark, Erickson, Earle, Campbell, Hansen, and Egan (1999) uses student cohorts, which seem unsuccessful. Bullough and his Associates (2002) continue to prevail in their concern to optimize the educational importance of the field experiences. Their study initiates the concept of partnership teaching using the value of teaming multiple student teachers with a single mentor teacher. Their study is based on the literature that acknowledges the importance of peer feedback and evaluation on student teacher learning as well as their assumptions that mentor teachers can benefit from (1) an "extra pair of hands" in the classroom (Bullough, et al., 1999) and (2) the possibility to reconsider their practice with two dedicated school teachers rather than just one (Bullough et al., 2002). During the second semester, student teachers work with mentor teachers and plan lessons for 13 weeks. Mentor teachers volunteer to work with either a single student teacher or a couple of student teachers. The mentor teachers and a building facilitator assist the student teachers consisting of nine mentor teachers working with a pair of student teachers and nine mentor teachers working with single student teachers. The data from the partnership and a single-placement model of early field experiences indicate that all mentors and student teachers find value it their classroom experience, but those in the partnership placement differ in their experience. Student teachers in partnership placements feel they receive better support and can take higher instructional risks within the classroom. In turn, children in the partnership placement receive better services. Mentors in partnership placements are more flexible in planning with students' teachers and more trusting. Bullough and his Associates (2002) conclude that partnership placements show potential in presenting richer, more appealing, and more educative early field experiences for student teachers.

Several teacher education programs teach their student teachers and university supervisors reflective practices in their student teachers (Adler & Roth, 1985; Korthagen, 1985; Zeichner & Liston, 1987). Loughran (2002) recommends that student teachers learn and understand effective reflective practice in the classroom setting. Cooperating teachers can learn to assess their teaching and supervision methods (Carter, 1987) through reflection. Student teaching experiences can be integrated within a larger school reform set where reflection and critical analysis of teaching are rewarded (Bird, 1984). Schools can provide opportunities for student teachers to have access to shared understandings (Little, 1987) and assume a reflective and self-renewing institutional role where student teachers become a member of the system and are socialized into their settings.

Additional exemplary student teaching placements must be selected to achieve the goal of assisting to certify the teaching profession through well-educated and socialized new teachers (Saracho, 1993). According to Bullough and his associates (2002), "Recognizing the powerful influence school context plays on beginning teacher development. Better schools create better teachers and better teacher education" (p. 68).

CREDENTIALING AND CERTIFICATION

Early childhood education teachers have an enormous effect on society; therefore, society, the state, teacher education institutions, and other education agencies have defined professional standards that prospective teachers must meet before being admitted into the teaching profession. Such standards are embedded in the certification and credentialing process. In teaching, but not in other professions, licensure, certification, and credentialing process are frequently used interchangeably with the term "certification," which conveys a set of standards declared by a profession. For example, Goldhaber and Brewer (2000) employ these expressions interchangeably in their study. Unfortunately, the teachers' certification or credentialing has been discerned as a feeble procedure, even when standards are established in the process of certifying or credentialing teachers (Saracho & Spodek, 1992).

Certification[1]

Certification refers to a "legal admittance to the profession." Its predominant function is to determine if individuals display the minimum competencies that are required for successful teaching (Saracho, 1993; Saracho& Spodek, 1992). A teaching certificate guarantees that professionals demonstrate a "safe level" of emerging teaching skills (Howsam, Corrigan, Denemark, & Nash, 1976) to begin a successful teaching profession, which is simply a set of minimum qualifications that individuals must have before they are admitted into the teaching profession. Several researchers remark that the reason teachers enter the teaching profession is nebulous. Ballou (1998) points out that follow-up interviews by the National Center for Education Statistics (1997) suggest an outstanding degree of error to the responses concerning teacher certification in the Schools and Staffing Survey. He also calls attention to the contradiction that a myriad of the teachers who are alternatively certified claim to have a Bachelor of Arts degree in education. Shen (1998) replies to Ballou's (1998) query by citing evidence that the response variance in his data are within the appropriate range for the survey. The deleted cluster truly has at least a Bachelor of Arts degree; although, over 99% of public school teachers have at least a

Bachelors degree (National Center for Education Statistics, 1997); therefore, this cluster exclusively encompasses teachers with a Bachelor of Arts degree only. Policy regulation over teachers is primarily practiced to identify responsible and competent individuals. Many standard qualifications for certification or credentialing are mandatory to assure that early childhood educational personnel attain a degree of professional competence.

States create standards to certify teachers and prevent the deficient and the ineptly prepared from entering the profession. Recently, some states have initiated the use of tests in screening teachers, but states are far more likely to require teachers to be certified in the subject they are prepared to teach than to demand that teachers pass a specific exam (Goldhaber &Brewer, 2000). Some states, like Texas, have pass levels below 70% (soon to be 75%) on teacher certification tests forfeit the feud to prepare teachers. In addition, Texas offers exclusive incentives to its teacher preparation institutions to prepare teachers precisely for hard-to-staff schools and high-demand subject areas (Christie, 2001). Each state generally gives teaching certificates for specific levels of education (e.g., early childhood, elementary, or secondary teachers) and for distinctive subjects taught (e.g., science, reading). In many circumstances an introductory teaching certificate, or "provisional certificate," is granted to preliminary teachers. Teachers may acquire a permanent certificate after successfully achieving a probationary period and seeking further studies (e.g., getting at least a master's degree). The state legislatures confer with state departments of education (or state department of public instruction) before approving the qualifications that are required of professional personnel to become certified in a specific state. Standards and qualifications change from state to state.

An elaborate system of training and licensure is geared toward the preparation of those entering teaching. In Bullough's and his associates' (2002) study the elementary certification sequence is three semesters long with early and continuous field experiences, concluding with student teaching. However, the system of training and licensure has developed a piecemeal over many years, and most teachers completing a state-approved program in a school of education receive a license to teach. Although efforts to develop professional certification have made some headway (e.g., National Broad for Professional Teaching Standards), the basic state licensure system remains in place. But there is no guarantee that the requirements for entering teaching are linked to student performance. Goldhaber and Brewer (2000) examine how students of teachers with probationary, emergency, private school, or no certification compare relative to students of teachers who have a standard certification. They show that mathematics teachers who have a standard certification have a statistically significant positive effect on the students' test scores relative to teachers who either hold private school certification or are not certified in their subject area. In addition, they show that mathematics and science students do just as

well with teachers with emergency credentials or standard teaching credentials. In addition, Darling-Hammond concludes in the National Commission on Teaching and American's Future's (1997) report:

> Reviews of more than two hundreds studies contradict the longstanding myths that 'anyone can teach' and that 'teachers are born and not made'... [T]eachers who are fully prepared and certified in both their discipline and in education are more highly rated and are more successful with their students than are teachers without preparation, and those with greater training... are more effective than those with less. (p.10)

Aiternative Forms of Certification

The shortage of qualified teachers has encouraged the development of alternative routes to certification. Lewis (1998) considers that the demand for more teachers will be approximately 200,000 per year for the next decade, and one-half to two-thirds of those will consist of new teachers, which requires the employment of non-certified teachers or teachers teaching out of their subject area. In 1994, approximately 25% of the new teachers did not have a license or had a substandard one in the subject in which they were teaching. These teachers are perceived to be ill-prepared (Lewis, 1998). Barlow (1999) shows that 80% of public school teachers are believed to be unprepared to teach. Customarily, quality-control processes in teacher education consist of state or external accreditation that rely on conformity to specific program criteria or standards. However, some private foundations (e.g., Fordham Foundation) believe that a desirable course in recruiting more suitable teachers is to allow more individuals to teach in the American public schools by offering alternative pathways rather than to increase the admission domains and obstacles and to standardize, homogenize, and lock up the process. Many believe that higher certification requirements means better qualified teachers, which suggests that states with stringent certification requirements have teachers whose students perform better. According to Goldhaber and Brewer (2000), students of teachers with probationary certification in states with admissions tests outperform those of teachers with similar licenses in states without that requirement. Their findings suggest that students of teachers with emergency certificates do at least as well as students with standard certification.

Several states have alternative routes to certification. For example, Massachusetts certifies teachers in a seven week period; Connecticut is presenting a four-week plan for alternative certification; while Colorado and Minnesota have laws that license districts to prepare their own teachers. Many states now require prospective teachers to demonstrate proficiency in technology prior to certification, but only a few states require teachers

who are employed to do so for recertification. However, some states have responded to this situation. For example, the state of Virginia provides institutes to train their employed teachers, administrators, and librarians and has instructed the state board to urge individuals who are pursuing either initial licensure or license renewal after July 2003 to demonstrate minimum proficiency in the use of educational technology. In facilitating licensure for teachers, local school boards are expected to prepare all instructional personnel to become proficient in educational technology (Christie, 2001). The myriad contradictory reports, edicts, and standards are causing teachers, higher education institutions, lay persons, and parents to misinterpret who is responsible to prepare the country's teachers. One of the most debatable issues in strengthening teacher quality is their preparation and induction into the profession. Both notions are influenced by teacher preparation institutions and school districts that hire new certified and uncertified teachers. Those accountability programs that school districts are implementing throughout the United States are beginning to affect teacher preparation institutions (Evans, Stewart, Mangin, & Bagley, 2001). According to Linda Darling-Hammond (1999), "If universities would commit their substantial resources to better preparing those who become elementary and secondary school teachers and those who teach at the college level, they could transform the nation's educational system and stimulate higher levels of academic achievement" (p. 18).

Recently, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education accepted new performance-based standards where an opposing accrediting force, the Teacher Education Accreditation Council, demands its patron programs to agree to an internal evaluation under the belief that the process itself will ameliorate the program. Unfortunately, concrete data are lacking to attest to this procedure's effectiveness. Regardless of the potential for these alternative pathways to certification, studies need to examine their effectiveness. However, this issue is as important now as in the future in relation to accountability of teacher preparation institutions.

Exempted Certification

Teacher certification is required for public school teaching in all states. However, many states absolve nonpublic teachers from possessing a certificate such as public school teachers who serve children below the age of public school entry, child care center teachers, or nursery school teachers. Since child care centers and nursery schools are commonly dismissed as schools, the qualifications for these teachers are exempted from the education authorities' jurisdiction. Qualifications for these teachers are embedded in licensing standards of those institutions, established by the state agencies regulating those institutions (Spodek & Saracho, 1988).

Credentialing[2]

In 1971 the United States Office of Child Development (OCD), presently called the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families (ACYF), acknowledged the demand for competent early childhood personnel who directly or indirectly work with young children. OCD commissioned a task force to contemplate the likelihood of conceiving a credential for early childhood personnel. The task force recommended a system to assess basic competencies to identify competent child care givers based on national standards heading to an admissible national "credential" or "award" (Child Development Associate [CDA] National Credentialing Program, 1988, p. 41).

Child Development Associate Credential

The Child Development Associate (CDA) was recognized as a new credential by a consortium that was conceived, representing 39 professional organizations that were directly interested in early childhood education and child development. The consortium was responsible for identifying qualified individuals and awarding them the credential, which was created to confer a national credential to early childhood practitioners, particularly those in Head Start Programs. The CDA credential indicates competency in 13 functional areas within 6 competency goals, which include:

1. Setting up and maintaining a safe and healthy learning environment;
2. Advancing physical and intellectual competence of children;
3. Building positive self-concept and individual strengths in children;
4. Organizing and sustaining the positive functioning of children and adults in a group in a learning environment;
5. Bringing about optimal coordination of home and center child-rearing practices and expectations; and
6. Carrying out supplementary responsibilities related to the children's programs (Child Development Associate Consortium, 1977).

The CDA credential was initially developed for those individuals who could not qualify or succeed in traditional bachelor level teacher education programs. Originally the credential was accessible only to those individuals who were working in center based programs for children ages three to five, embracing those with a bilingual expertise. In the 1980s the credential was extended to those individuals who were working with infants and toddlers and for family day care providers (Peters, 1988; Powell & Dunn, 1990).

The CDA was originally a credentialing system, although several preparation programs have emerged to prepare practitioners to comply with the

CDA credentialing criteria. Furthermore, community colleges and many four-year colleges adopt the CDA competencies as the structure for their teacher education programs. Lately, the Council for Early Childhood Professional Recognition, which governs the CDA credential, amended the procedures for acquiring the credential such as using alternative approaches to CDA credentialing. Alternative approaches may consist of: (1) preparation in a formal education program or (2) traditional CDA assessment procedures. The council has produced text and practice materials for preparation programs (Phillips, 1991).

Several researchers have examined the effects of CDA training on participants in CDA programs. For example, Saracho (1999) reveals that positive attitude changes result from the Child Development Associate training. Her study demonstrates that the training of the Child Development Associate trainees shifts their attitude in a positive direction for children and the teaching profession. These results are supported in other studies (e.g., Spodek, Davis, & Saracho, 1983) as well as in Powell and Dunn's (1990) review where participants report a positive change in self-confidence during and after the program. They also report that the training experience positively changed their work with young children and their parents, their relations with their co-workers, and their relations with their own children. Students in a university-based CDA program also report positive changes in job performance, child development knowledge, feelings of self-worth, and control over their lives. CDA recipients also are inclined to continue their education in a formal preparation program, which is important because several studies reveal that those teachers who achieve the highest level of preparation upon entry to the field are the most likely to pursue additional preparation during their career (Spodek, Davis, & Saracho, 1983). No studies indicate the impact of the teachers' CDA training or credentialing on child outcomes. Darling-Hammond (2000) believes that teacher education programs can contribute to its development of teachers' abilities by studying teaching from the students' perspective who bring diverse experiences and frames of reference to the classroom (Darling-Hammond, 2000).

MENTOR PROGRAMS

Recently several mentor programs have emerged to improve the quality of the new certified teachers' classroom performance. The concept of mentoring originated in the 1980s as part of the educational reform broader effort to professionalize teaching. It was initially identified with beginning teacher induction frequently suggesting mentoring as a form of temporary support to assist first year teachers manage the challenges of their first teaching year. It is important to augment beginning teachers' understand-

ing of learning to teach in a collegial and communal enterprise (Bullough et al., 2002).

In the 1990s the notion of mentoring broadened to the preservice level. Feiman-Nemser (2001a) believes that the idea of educative mentoring is based on Dewey's (1938) concept of educative experiences, which are those experiences that promote and guide them to richer subsequence experiences. Dewey assumes that teachers are accountable for organizing the physical and social environments in order to provide the students with growth-producing experiences. Corrie (2000) shows that by the end of their first teaching year most of the newly qualified teachers report that the teachers in their schools intimidate them to isolation, privacy and individualism, and their discourse embodied images of teachers as solitary workers in their classrooms. Since they are the newly qualified teachers, they believe they should be considered the experts, who desire to be part of their school culture and become change agents in their schools. Unfortunately, they feel that teaching is complex work replete with emerging difficulties. Corrie (2000) reports that the newly qualified teachers' collaborative skills which they developed as undergraduates seem to diminish and deteriorate quickly. They need opportunities to collaborate in their school contexts, to learn with colleagues, to interpret successes and failures, and to build on their strengths. They also need to be valued publicly or for colleagues to affirm them as competent professionals. In order that they become change agents, they need support from communities of teacher-learners and some guidance to help them become effective practitioners. Teacher education programs can include as part of their preparation program a component where perspective teachers develop collaborative and reflective skills. Then they can do a follow up with them during their first year of teaching.

Teacher education programs can provide a support group for newly qualified teachers to facilitate collaborative practice and explore their emerging professional knowledge in their first year of teaching. A mentor program can also be part of this support group. According to Christie (2001), many induction programs are developing where states, like Connecticut and California, grant considerable funding for these induction programs as well as training and salary incentives for mentor teachers. Teacher quality is a policy agenda that is concerned with induction and mentoring of new teachers into the profession. Feiman-Nemser (2001a) describes how one exemplary support teacher comments and assumes his role with beginning teachers. Using observational and interview data, she identifies principles and strategies that form the exemplary teacher's mentoring practices and offers an image of "educative" mentoring and some ideas about the conditions needed to sustain it. Evans and Associates (2001) present an overview of these issues and describe their development throughout the country.

California requires beginning teachers to participate in a Mentor Teacher Program for their first two teaching years, although in July 2001 the state plans to change the title mentor teachers to "consulting" teachers to help other teachers and in performance evaluations. In Mississippi local school districts rewards mentor teachers for extra responsibilities carried out under their Beginning Teacher Support Program and allows extra release time for these mentor teachers. In New Hampshire, these teachers are granted an educational credential of "master teacher," where appropriately certified teachers are permitted to mentor, supervise, and evaluate other teachers. North Carolina has an Excellent Schools Act that requires each newly certified teacher to have a qualified mentor. Perhaps these mentor teachers or consulting teachers can be used with the university's first year support group. They can mentor the newly qualified teachers and help them adjust and function in their classroom and school. However, Feiman-Nemser (2001b) cautions teacher preparation programs to be careful about the adept (or inept) between their conventional approaches, induction and professional development, and learning, because it challenges teaching in reform-minded fashions. She believes that promising programs and practices should continually consider three questions:

a. What are the central tasks of teacher preparation, new teacher induction, and early professional development?
b. How well do conventional arrangements address these central tasks?
c. What are some promising programs and practices at each stage in learning to teach in a continuum that promotes standards-based teaching and enables teachers to become active participants in school reform?

According to Goldhaber and Brewer (2000), teachers who possess dissimilar genres of credentials are not randomly distributed across students, classes, or schools that need to be more systematically studied with optional data that embody nationally representative types of teachers. Furthermore, knowledge is missing in relation to precisely match teachers with state licensure policies to which they are assigned to teach, which would require more: (1) descriptive information on the definite date, location, and content of an individual teacher's certification experience and (2) comprehensive information on how state licensing policy has been amended over time. Such information can be used in future studies on the effects of teacher licensure policies.

Unfortunately, the early childhood education field does not have any jurisdiction in relation to the constitution of teacher preparations or teaching practice. State education authorities determine teacher certification standards (Spodek, Davis, & Saracho, 1983; Spodek & Saracho, 1996). The National Association for the Education of Young Children merely has a

minor voluntary influence in the complete system during its collaboration with the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education in developing criteria for accrediting four- and five-year teacher education programs. Furthermore, no standards exist at all for associate degree teacher preparation programs, although state child care licensing agencies establish standards for child care teachers (Spodek & Saracho, 1990, 1996).

Moreover, the appropriateness of the knowledge base for early childhood practice has been challenged as a basis for professional practice. The knowledge based needs to be built into theory, research, and practice as well as consider the theoretical knowledge from both child development and early childhood education. This chapter merely presents initial information, but attempts must be made to increase the knowledge base in the future.

CONCLUSION

Early childhood teachers characterize a divergent group, in which individuals differ in their preparation levels, career classifications, working situations, and employment agencies. Differences exist in relation to the nature of early childhood program and the teachers' preparation level. The tremendous increase in all early childhood programs suggests that more opportunities be accessible in early childhood teacher education programs and that the preparation and teachers' working situations be enhanced.

NOTES

1. The expression "certification" or "credentialing" indicates licensure. Licensure refers to the process by which the state grants individuals a credential to assure the public that the individual is qualified to begin practicing in the profession Lilly (1992).

2. Credentialing refers to the certification system that guarantees that individuals who work with children in child care centers are qualified and have the appropriate training and job experience.

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CHAPTER 2

THE POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES OF "NOT KNOWING" Early Childhood Teachers' Knowledge and Thinking in Uncertain Times.

Glenda MacNaughton

> ... in recent years, the certainty that there is indeed an objective body of knowledge available to practitioners to 'guide their practice,' and into which new recruits need to be inducted, has been profoundly challenged. As a result, there is now a serious 'epistemological crisis' within the professions. (Furlong, 2000, p. 16)

The idea that there is an objective body of early childhood knowledge that practitioners can use to guide their practice has been challenged in recent years (e.g., Cannella, 1997; MacNaughton, 2000). Scholars often known as "reconceptualists" have called for a major epistemological rethink about the role and place of developmental knowledge of the child in early child-

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hood practice. Specifically, various reconceptualists have argued that developmental thinking and Developmentally Appropriate Practice (DAP) is not based on objective body of knowledge of the child but on a highly politicized body of knowledge that is contradictory, replete with silences and omissions and oppressive (Silin, 1995; Cannella, 1997; Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001). Furthermore, they argue that this body of knowledge serves to regulate and govern young children, parents and early childhood staff because it is regarded as a set of facts about the child that are true and right. Without access to these facts, we in early childhood education cannot act appropriately nor correctly with children, understand them, or even think about them (MacNaughton 2000).

Drawing on Foucault's work (1978, 1990) reconceptualists have argued that early childhood educators live and work within a regime of truth called DAP that regulates (controls) how they talk about young children's best interests and what they think are appropriate and inappropriate ways to raise children. Far from being objective developmental knowledge about the child is more often oppressive and unjust (see e.g., Burman, 1992; Cannella, 1997; Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999; MacNaughton, 2000).

In Australia, such reconceptualist thinking has begun to move beyond the walls of the academy and to touch the thinking and practice of early childhood teachers (Barnes, 2000; Barnes, Campbell, Jones, Smith, Saitta, & MacNaughton, 2000). This has produced an "epistemological crisis" within the parts of the Australian early childhood profession where what counts as proper and relevant knowledge for practitioners to use to "guide their practice" has become increasingly uncertain for some. In such moments of crisis, we have choices and opportunities. Do we close ranks and reassert the "truths" that many would argue have served the profession well or do we take the opportunity to embrace new ways of thinking?

This chapter is about the challenges and possibilities that a group of early childhood teachers experienced as they followed the later path and took the opportunity to rethink their knowledge base and the "truths" within it that guided their practice. The teachers' experiences arose in a statewide in-service action research program in South Australia known as the Critical Teaching Project (CTP). This project offers insights into how early childhood teachers' knowledge and thinking is effected by the post-knowledges and it questions if these effects are desirable and for whom.

THE CRITICAL TEACHING PROJECT AS A CONTEXT FOR TEACHERS' RETHINKING

Their Knowledge Base

In overview, the CTP project was initiated by Sally Barnes a curriculum officer in the Department of Education, Training and Employment in

South Australia; this department funded the project. It involved 10 early childhood teachers and two district managers from across South Australia (both metropolitan and rural services). They participated in a six-month project that used action research to engage the participants in critical reflection on their pedagogical practices. The project drew on the principles and processes of collaborative action research. In collaborative action research, the research process is understood as a process of social and educational change (Schratz & Walker, 1995). The CTP took participants through a well-tested and staged process of choosing a research question, using theory to drive action, data collection and interpretation and taking action to create change (Sagor, 2000). This CTP process was premised on the view that engaging teachers in debate about their curriculum practices is critical to a civil society:

> The central question for curriculum decision-making, therefore, is how to establish processes of curriculum debate which are genuinely democratic, that is, which do not marginalize particular voices. Indeed, given the importance of education to the making of a civilized society, this is a question fundamental to the operation of our democratic system (Johnson & Reid, 1999, p. xi).

The paramount characteristics of collaborative action research include self-reflection aimed at improving the rationality and justice of social situations and practices and the involvement of people in a process that will improve social practices and the situations in which social practices take place (MacNaughton, 1996a; McTaggart, Henry, & Johnson, 1997). It leads to debate because it takes a sceptical position on knowledge and using critical reflection participants are urged to be:

> ... inquisitive about circumstances, action, and consequences and coming to understand the relationships between circumstances, actions, and consequences, in...(our) own lives (McTaggart, 1991, p. 176).

Collaborative action research shares with postmodernists a scepticism of "truth" as achievable (Mansfield, 2000). It accords with postmodernist understandings of "truth" as always partial, multiple, fragmented, historically—and culturally specific, contested and as never finally fixed (Weedon, 1997). In how I worked with action research within the Critical Teaching it also accorded with Foucauldian (1983, 1980, 1978, 1977) understandings that there are many "truths," each associated with specific power effects. Within this "postmodern" or reconceptualist understanding of action research, critical reflection holds existing "truths" up for social critique and draws on postmodernism's deconstructionist and revolutionary intents to provoke changed knowledge/power relations in the contexts in which we enact action research.

The Critical Teaching Project created and trialled a process in which teachers could actively engage in critical dialogue and debate about what counts as knowledge, what should count as knowledge and whose knowledge should count in their work with young children. It was premised on a postmodern stance towards knowledge and on a view that teachers can and should be engaged with debates about knowledge. Specifically, it engaged teachers with information about how teachers produce and use knowledge and its effects for them as teachers, for parents and for the children with whom they work. As Jones (2000) explained in the final report on the project:

> The Critical Teaching project has created and trialled a process for, and space, in which such curriculum dialogues can take place. The process used, 'views as intellectuals, engaged in the pursuit of answers to genuine questions, problems, and curiosities that results in their *producing* new knowledge, rather than a training paradigm that results in their *consuming* knowledge' (Vukelich & Wrenn, 1999, p. 156, cited in Jones, 2000).

Several processes were used to enable participants to critically rethink their knowledge base and the pedagogical practices it produced and in doing so to "produce" rather than "consume" knowledge. Each process contributed to participants' skills in practicing critical reflection, critical dialogue and classroom action research:

- Six workshops led by myself as an action research facilitator and critical friend guiding members through the process of critical reflection, critical dialogue and generation of critical theory using tools for analyzing the politics of meaning such as deconstruction and erasure (Derrida, 1982).
- Journals in which participants tracked their conscious reflection, self-confrontation, intervention, decisions, and change, thus documenting their individual journey of investigation.
- Provision of research and readings pertaining to each teachers' area of inquiry and intervention.
- Critical dialogue and support between critical friends and in small local discussion groups or learning networks.
- Individual project support visits to sites by the project officer Kerryn Jones throughout the process.

The project evaluation was conducted by Kerryn Jones (Jones, 2000). She analyzed the project journals and interviewed participants post-project about their experiences and learning in and from the project. The data that follows and the challenges and possibilities that they raise for what it means to know as an early childhood teacher are taken primarily from the transcripts of the post-project interviews.

LEARNING TO RETHINK PEDAGOGICAL TRUTHS: USING THE POSTMODERN

Postmodern theories suggest that there are many truths to be understood about each child (e.g., Burman, 1994; Davies, 1993; Campbell, 1999). In other words, they challenge the idea that we can know anything for certain about the child, requiring us to expect some uncertainty as we try to find new ways to think about and work with and for young children. As Alloway (1997, p. 5) argued, we:

> ... must begin to critically interrogate knowledge that seductively poses as self-evident truth about child development and appropriate practice... (W)e must be prepared to forsake the comfort of certainty and accept a less-than-certain orientation to knowledge in the field.

Similarly, Lubeck (1998) captured the current interest in achieving best practice through pursuing uncertainty in this statement:

> To speak of contradiction, ambiguity and complexity, to call attention to other ways of seeing is not to unleash chaos but simply to name what happens as a matter of course. Modern ways of thinking orient us to value stability, certainty and consensus, to write down guidelines and standards. . . Yet, arguably, we are most likely to grow in our practice when we are exposed to different interpretations and different ways of doing things (p. 291).

CTP participants were invited to rethink their truths and certainties about the child and to pursue uncertainty in the workshops. These workshops involved me sharing with them specific postmodern tools of meaning analysis and poststructuralist understandings of the relationships between power, knowledge and "truth" meaning.

The workshops drew heavily on the ideas of postmodern thinkers such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. In Sessions Three and Four I introduced participants to Derrida's (Derrida, 1982) notions of deconstruction and erasure and to Foucauldian (Foucault, 1980, 1978, 1977) ways of exploring the relationships between power and meaning. Deconstruction put simply is about taking apart meaning to show how some meanings are silenced and others are privileged and it is about exploring the implications of these silences and privileges for specific people or groups of people. "Deconstructive analysis suggests that texts are never what they seem" (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 61) and putting a word under erasure shows that you recognize its limits and silences but that you do not yet have an alternative (Davies, 1993). When this form of analysis is combined with Foucault's argument that "systems of power require some truth to be derived to justify what they seek to do" (Mansfield, 2000, p. 59) then

exploring the relationships between truth, meaning, and power becomes possible.

Simple questions can take us to an exploration of these relationships. Some of the questions that served to do this within the Critical Teaching Project included:

- What seems self-evidently true about the child?
- How does child development knowledge limit our understandings of the child?
- Whose knowledge of the child do we privilege?
- Who benefits from our understandings of the children?
- How powerful are children in our program?
- Which children have the most power in our program?
- How do we categorize children?
- How else might we categorize children?
- Do our categories promote equitable understandings and practices?
- How might the gender, class, ethnicity and abilities of the children in our group influence their well being and the content and structure of our program?
- Whose knowledge of the child do we value in building a picture of the child and their well being in our program?
- What other sources of knowledge might we use?

Those questions shifted participants attention away from truth about whether a child "fits" into a developmental continuum and towards knowledge about links between their understandings of children, children's role and experiences in their program and issues of equity. They also shifted participant's attention towards knowledge about who the child is, what she/he is capable of and how she/he lives and learns. For instance, we might best understand, represent and assess the complexity of a child's capacity to construct using theories of architecture, structural engineering or sculpture, rather than through theories of child development and cognitive structures. Similarly, anthropological, sociological or feminist theories might enrich and broaden how we understand, represent and assess the complexity of a child's capacity to create and maintain relationships with others. This isn't to ask early childhood educators to become experts in architecture or anthropology, but to recognize the limitations and problems of basing our decision-making solely on developmental theories of the child. What stories might staff build of children as learners if they looked to philosophers and artists, rather than developmental psychologists?

Deconstructive and power/knowledge analysis were offered to participants as tools they could use to help them critically reflect on how to interpret their classroom action research "data." We used questions and what I called a "Meaning Map" to practice deconstructing key ideas and

practices in each of the participants' research projects (see Jones, 2000 for examples). The "Meaning Map" asked participants to chart the ways in which meanings we give to teaching and learning privilege and/or silence particular world views.

INTRIGUE, SURPRISE, FRUSTRATION AND SADNESS: THE UNCERTAIN EFFECTS OF THE LEARNING TO BE A "POSTMODERN PEDAGOGUE"

Several participants said consistently that learning to how deconstruct meaning was the most significant aspect of their involvement in the project. They were intrigued and surprised by where it led them and it clearly led several of them to think very differently about key aspects of their professional knowledge base. For instance, (Lilly) LM re-met her "truths" about curriculum by putting the word under erasure. She was surprised by where that took her thinking:

> *Kerryn:* What was the most significant aspect of the project for you?(ND)
>
> *(Lilly) LM:* Erasure—pulling words apart and getting different meanings from them and seeing how they apply to what I do and my beliefs. I find I'm doing it with everything now, all the significant words. I'm pulling them apart and having a close look at them—what does it mean? The more I've got into the word curriculum, the more I've found... I've changed what I thought curriculum was and just looking at the word and where it comes from—it means to race—and I think about how it got from there to the way it's used today..... And, then you think about the ways we assess children's development—is it a race?

Meg (M) spoke at length about how looking for multiple meanings within a word shifted her sense that there is one right way to understand her work and especially to understand children. At one point during a long discussion about this with Kerryn she summarized her thoughts in the simple statement:

> *Meg (M):* It's broadened my perspective and I realize that what I see as blue may not be blue to everyone else.

The depth of analysis that deconstructing meaning could bring surprised Tina:

> *Tina:* So to me whenever someone says critical teaching, it's pulling things apart, putting them back together and questioning—that's the three things that I think of—I never actually thought it would be at such depth.

These extracts give some hint of the power of specific postmodern tools of analysis such as erasure and deconstruction had in this project to provoke early childhood pedagogues to "rethink" their truths and to engage as intellectuals with knowledge analysis. In Foucault's terms deconstruction and knowledge/power analysis helped participants to question their "truths," resist "truth" making and move from a modernist "will to truth" towards a more postmodernist "will to knowledge" (see Jones, 2000; Barnes, Jones, & MacNaughton, 2000). For Foucault the will to knowledge is "the general desire to know" and the will to truth is "the desire to know the difference between truth and falsity in particular disciplines or discourses" (Gore, 1993, p. 10).

In line with Foucault (1977a cited in Gore, 1993) Gore argued that intellectuals could/should constantly question their truth and work for the more general "will to know." The intellectual search should be for knowledge, not for truth. This is because in searching for knowledge it becomes possible to challenge the silencing, surveillance and marginalisation of non-hegemonic knowledges and the othering and oppression of people that is produced through them.

In the CTP deconstructionist critical reflection opened up the possibility of "seeing" subjugated knowledges by showing how meaning was socially constructed, shifting and had power effects. For one teacher in the CTP the effects of these understandings freed her from the idea that she might find the best way to teach and helped to her embrace the idea that different teaching methods hold possibilities that are worth exploring:

> I always thought that there was some magic formula, that when you hit the spot with the right process for teaching and learning that it would just work … that there was one way and that when I got it I would 'see the light' and think after so many years "I've finally got it." I've come to realize that that's never going to happen - it's a bit sad, but it won't..... I no longer believe there is one method—for every child and every situation and every circumstance there's different methods. So you need to be able to draw from different methods and create something that works for you, and what works for you one year may not work for you the next. I used to think "it drives me nuts. We get something going and then we move onto something else," but that's a good thing because it means you're thinking about it and if you weren't being critically reflective then you'd never change, because you'd be stuck at one thing.—Preschool Director, Critical Teaching Project

Deconstructing meaning and putting words under erasure was clearly pleasurable for several participants. It felt significant and it felt intriguing. However, for some, pleasure and intrigue was tinged with sadness (as above), frustration and despair. So, the effects of participants learning to re-meet their truths were mixed and shifting.

UNDERMINED, WHIPPED AND POWERFUL: THE SHIFTING EFFECTS ON "NOT KNOWING" AND LIVING WITH UNCERTAINTY

I have chosen to "give witness" (Lather, 2000) to those mixed and shifting effects for teachers involved in the CTP to explore if I/we should inflict my/our postmodern uncertainties about early childhood "truths" on teachers.

I start with Bella's reflections on deconstruction in which she articulates the mixed and shifting effects of deconstructing for her in this way:

> I keep going back to deconstructing. That word really got me; I found that really intriguing. We [deconstructed] the word "play," and if you pull play apart it's like the whole fabric falls apart; the whole little early childhood island just collapses into the sea. When we started... it felt like the whole island had collapsed into the sea. And, we all went : "Oh we're stuck on a little tiny rock, that's all we've got left, what are we going to do now?" But then you feel it start to come back, but it comes back set up in a different way.— (Preschool Director, Critical Teaching Project)

Does deconstruction just undermine professional confidence? Bella in some moments in the project would clearly have agreed that it did. Yet, in Bella's final statement is a sense that she feels that it is worth "collapsing into a sea" of uncertainty if by doing so you learn through it to think differently. Bella explained in another part of her interview with Kerryn how she had come back differently:

> ... you know I want to change the whole world in 5 seconds but knowing that the only way you're really going to do it well is to pick on something relatively small and try to really run with it. It might be like gender bias... you might say yeah I can see it's an issue in this center... and instead of saying grab that book off the shelf there's a few activities in there that might help, really looking at it and making it a focus for a whole year. How can we find out more about? Who can we talk to about it? What sorts of things can we really find out at the bottom of this? And what resources can we use to have the critical dialogue, to get the information, to come up with different models. Rather than putting a few bandaids on it.

As deconstruction collapsed Bella into a sea of uncertainty and allowed her to resurface wanting to change the world, Anna "mentally whipped" herself. When she talked about deconstruction she talked about her frustration, despair as she learnt to read the political effects of meanings, and tried to grapple with their implications for her capacity to "know" children.

> The work that Glenda did on deconstructing and looking at who's being advantaged and not being advantaged, I'm more aware of the fact that I can't just assume that I will always see that with that child.... That I have to be really careful—that maybe always it will be what the child is showing me consciously or unconsciously. So, I think in some ways that the CTP made me quite frustrated and despairing because I thought "it is impossible." Everything we do has so many possibilities to be wrong and to be based on wrong assumptions or gender biases or political biases or whatever. But, then I thought at some stage I have to stop mentally whipping myself, or none of us would teach, we just have to do the best we can.... So as a result of this project and my reflections on knowing children, I'm going to be much more open, I hope, about by 'knowledge' of children.

Yet mingled with Anna's sense of despair and frustration at deconstruction was a sense that it also gave her power:

> As long as I'm always deconstructing and being aware of all the advantages and disadvantages of political biases, I have the power to say what curriculum, what teaching, what learning (means).

So, while Anna's initial comments offer support for the view that "post-knowledges" are problematic for teachers they also bear witness to its benefits. Anna's despair and frustration turned into a desire to explore different ways of "knowing" children and this was linked with her recognition that her ways of knowing were constructed by her own ethnicity, language and class. As she explained:

> ... how do you get to know children before they enter the center. Okay so you do interviews with the parents, you do interviews with the children but can you say you know them? You know is a parent or child really going to tell me what their home life is like? A non-English speaking background—what do we know about them really? We might have what a textbook says but do you really know what it's like to live in a non-English speaking home? Do we really know what it means to come from a single-person home?

SHOULD WE TAKE TEACHERS THINKING TOWARDS UNCERTAINTY?

As a researcher and teacher influenced heavily by postmodern thinking I have recently faced several questions from colleagues about the wisdom of creating scepticism and resistance to the traditional "truths" of early childhood education. In particular I have been cautioned through questions about the dangers of deconstruction for the health and well being of teachers and our early childhood knowledge base.

In searching through the post-project CTP interview transcripts for a way to honor and to answer my colleagues concerns about the effects of post-knowledges for teachers I hear that there are both loses and gains for them. For teachers who are provoked to "re-meet" their pedagogical truths and practices and to think "as a post-person," the gains include a greater sense of power over their capacity to construct meaning, a recognition that meaning is political and a sense of intrigue about meaning and how its works. However, these gains bring with them sadness, uncertainty, despair, and frustration. Are the gains worth the losses? Should we ask teachers to take the journey needed to reinvent knowledge/power relations in our field? Is this a journey that we should provoke teachers to begin? Are the risks worth the effects? Should we encourage teachers to "not know," and to live with the uncertainty produced by the "post" ways of thinking?

Anna gained openness to different ways of knowing children and recognition that the positionality of her knowledge limited what she could reasonably say she knew. Bella found openness to putting curriculum together differently so that she knew things more deeply about the children and about how she might work with them. When I review the post-project interviews I see that participants gained a lot of questions but also gained the confidence to live with uncertainty, to search for more equitable ways of doing and thinking in classrooms and to share their journeys with others.

These gains are critical to work for greater equity in and through our practices. If we are to hear and honor the voices of all children, and parents but especially those silenced and marginalized by our knowledges and our practices we need to re-meet our ways of thinking and doing and understand their affects on others. We know that our efforts to create equity in early childhood have floundered because they have failed to challenge colonial and racist certainties about "race," patriarchal voices about gender, homophobic voices about sexuality and capitalist understandings of human worth and value (see Campbell, 1999; Cannella, 1997; MacNaughton, 2000; Silin, 1995). If the tools of analysis that post-knowledges offer us can create these challenges, are the "health-risks" worth the journey? Could being prepared to face uncertain knowledge hold the key to change?

This chapter has drawn on the words of the participants in the Critical Teaching Project to attempt to show why I would say that the risks are not only worth the journey but essential to challenging inequities in our knowledges and our practices. For me, reconceptualizing early childhood education is intimately connected with greater equity within it. To do this we need to learn to both deconstruct and reconstruct our truths and the practices produced through them. We need to become "truth" sceptics and resistors' and to embrace the possibilities that we do not know, that our knowings are partial, shifting and uncertain if we are to search for more equitable ways of thinking and acting with and for the children our work claims to honor. The Critical Teaching project is one space in which early

childhood teachers demonstrated the capacity and desire to do this, despite the fact that it left them "not knowing" and "uncertain." What might we gain and what might we lose if our pre-service and in-service work with teachers encouraged them towards uncertainty rather than "truths" in their knowledge base about young children?

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CHAPTER 3

THE IMPORTANCE OF TEACHERS' SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS
The Case of Adaptive Teaching

Rudolf van den Berg and Peter Sleegers

INTRODUCTION

In light of continual scientific and social developments in a variety of areas, education keeps changing. This task elicits the necessary tensions within the educational system; not only organizationally but also among the teachers and school leaders responsible for the teaching. Over the past few decades, considerable progress has been made with respect to the establishment of a scientific basis for proposed educational innovations. Empirically well-founded scientific insights into teaching and learning have

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emerged. This also holds for the teaching of young children and the need for attention to the differences between pupils.

Increased attention to pupils and their individual differences is realized in the form of adaptive teaching, which involves the adjustment of teaching to the possibilities and needs of each student. Such teaching concerns a pedagogical climate in which children feel accepted and safe. Such teaching also requires a climate in which children are sufficiently challenged to achieve to the best of their ability. Adaptive teaching calls for teachers to examine and contemplate the manner in which they look at the differences between pupils. This is not an easy task, however, as the present contribution will show. First, adaptive teaching will be sketched. Thereafter, a description of a coherent approach to successful implementation of adaptive teaching involving four domains will be presented.

ADAPTIVE TEACHING

There is an increasing trend in education away from uniform teaching and learning routes for entire groups of pupils towards the development of methods of working that allow one to take the differences between pupils and their learning styles into greater consideration. This is called adaptive teaching. Adaptive teaching is an approach in which differences between learners—especially cognitive or other specific characteristics—are clearly recognized. Teachers accept that their pupils differ in capabilities and take these differences as the starting point for teaching/learning. The curriculum framework covers all pupils, but this does not imply that all pupils do the same work in the same way and at the same speed.

For adaptive teaching to succeed, an environment in which pupils are challenged to learn at their own level of achievement must exist. Morrison (1995) has called these settings adaptive learning systems. These systems are learner-centered, change-focused, value-based, technologically mediated, and built on the principles of open systems. An adaptive learning system empowers the learning potential of each pupil; that is, in this system each pupil learns at his or her fullest capacity. Chapman (1996) and Befring (1997) speak of "adaptive learning environment." Chapman has painted a British perspective on the future of special education for the UK and concluded that a good build-up of "adaptive learning environments" should be preferred over ministerial (i.e., parliamentary) decisions and guidelines for integration. Befring describes the so-called "enrichment perspective" as an alternative to the usual policy in Norway. A model of "assessment" as the basis for modification of the learning environment is of primary interest.

Darling-Hammond (1996) argues that education must include nurturing the student's spirit in order to educate the student for a democratic

life. Consequently, not only the educational curriculum but also the social-emotional aspects of teaching constitute important elements of today's teaching. Adaptive teaching requires the establishment of a pedagogical climate in which children feel accepted and secure. This position implies that very important is a climate in which all children are challenged to achieve their best while they also receive the support they may need at the moment. Successful activities are characterized, for example, by flexible grouping within the classroom, regular evaluation of pupil progress, taking the differences between pupils as the starting point for didactic activities and specialized pupil care.

Other authors label this type of learning as "authentic learning," which can be described as "truly human learning" (Eisner, 1991; Franssen, Roelofs, & Terwel, 1995). For these authors, authentic learning is first and foremost goal-oriented insight-based learning. This means that pupils know what, how, and why they learn. Second, the "interpersonal context" within which the learning occurs is of great importance. Third, links to the environment of pupils are sought. Authentic learning is connected to modern conceptions of the manner in which pupils can learn most effectively, efficiently, actively, and with greatest motivation. Learning takes place in authentic situations and, to promote this, the pupils themselves develop the activities with as much interaction with teachers and other pupils as possible. Working in groups and cooperative learning are of great importance. In addition, better use of the information technologies in education can promote authentic learning. The school can no longer avoid application of such new developments. Even in the education of young children, the computer has acquired a role. According to Ryba, Selby, and Nolan (1995), the use of computers in the education of handicapped children (inclusive education) can expand their self-confidence and motivation. This is particularly favorable for pupils who may have experienced numerous failures under regular education circumstances.

For the young child in the Dutch language domain, the following principles have been developed within the framework of adaptive teaching and authentic learning (Vreugdenhil, 1999).

a. For a powerful learning environment, a clear vision is necessary with attention from two perspectives: the personal development of the student and rooting in social life.
b. The learning environment is complete and abound with critically selected content and sufficient tools.
c. The learning environment elicits activity as a result of, among other things, the provision of a variety of working methods.
d. The role of the teacher varies for this same purpose: instructor, guide, and coach.
e. Everything aims at the development of self-directed learning: the pupils themselves find their way through the problems put forth.

f. The learning environment aims at the development of self-evaluation and feelings of competence on the part of pupils.
g. The learning climate is emotionally safe and inspiring; the teacher has trust in the pupils for this purpose.
h. A socially interactive climate exists with sufficient affective impulses for the pupils; the teacher plays a crucial role in the provision of such inspiration.

All these principles have an important influence on the manner in which teachers emotionally experience their professional situation. The aforementioned principles can lead to perception of professional incompetence on the part of the teachers. In general, innovations can have emotional reprecussions, such as ambiguity with regard to what the change means concretely for one's own work situation

A number of years ago in the Netherlands, a program was developed for the realization of adaptive teaching in schools for both younger and older children. A total of nine schools participated in the adaptive teaching program. Detailed reports can be found in Van den Berg, Sleegers, Geijsel, and Vandenberghe (2000) and Van den Berg, Sleegers, and Geijsel (2001). In the present contribution, a description of four domains will be presented.

Four Domains

Implementation of an educational change can only have positive effects when it follows a well thought through trajectory (Louis, Toole & Hargreaves, 1999). Setting up such a change is a complex process, and consideration of which domains play an important role in adaptive teaching and just how these domains relate to each other may be very useful during this process. In Figure 1, four domains in relation to each other are presented (Van den Berg, Vandenberghe & Sleegers, 1999).

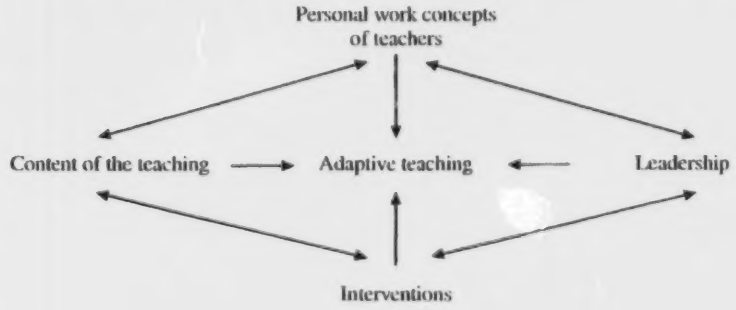

FIGURE 1.

The four domains are, in principle, the wheels of the teaching process: teachers' personal work concepts, the content of the teaching, the organization of the school, and the interventions. The four domains continually influence each other. In attempts at educational innovation or change, the four domains are also continually at play. Attempts to modify the content of teaching must recognize the need to modify the school organization as well. In addition to this, teachers assimilate different work concepts and the best interventions are developed for this purpose. In the following, the four domains will be considered in greater detail.

The Personal Work Concepts of Teachers

Hall (1978), Hall, George, and Rutherford (1977), Hall and Hord (1987), Van den Berg and Ros (1999) have shown in both American and European research that the success of an innovation is not determined so much by the objective characteristics of the innovation as by the subjective perceptions of those involved. The significance attributed to an educational innovation by the teachers involved is thus of critical importance, and an adequate analysis and understanding of the personal meanings of an innovation (i.e., adaptive teaching) is therefore a prerequisite for implementation of an innovation. Not only the objective characteristics of an innovation determine the chances of success, but also the interpretations that teachers provide with regard to the nature of the innovation and the consequences of such. Certain reactions and problems can stem from the significance that a teacher attaches to the new situation that arises for them in connection with an innovation.

It is important to analyze and understand the meanings that have been created. The questions that teachers ask and concerns that they express are not just coincidence but clear signals of particular experiences and expectations with regard to an innovation. It is thus important that attention be devoted to the personal attachment of significance or meaning in connection with a process of innovation. The facts, situations, or events are all less important than the specific meaning or significance that the teacher gives an innovation. From this perspective, the notion of "concerns" can also be introduced (Van den Berg & Ros, 1999).

Concerns consist of the questions with which teachers give more or less emotional expression to their uncertainties and possible resistance to new situations and/or changes in the current situation. Concerns, in this sense, point to the lack of competence that teachers and school administrators may feel with regard to the conduct of new teaching activities in a responsible manner. This type of concern is a natural consequence of situations in which teachers are expected to tackle new problems, use new materials, apply new methods of working, and so forth. The questions that teachers pose, the comments that they offer, and the sometimes—in the eyes of outsiders—irrational reactions of teachers are all essential indicators of the

manner in which teachers function. Different types of concerns can be distinguished, moreover.

Self-concerns point to the thoughts that teachers have with regard to the consequences that an innovation can have for them personally: To what extent does it appeal to qualities that they already have? Is there a possibility of "losing face"? And is sufficient support available? "Adaptive teaching is too vague for me"; "can I handle this?" and "the parents are already so satisfied with my class-based teaching" are typical self-concerns.

Teachers with so-called "task-concerns" are worried primarily about the expediency of the innovation and the question of whether the necessary prerequisites have been met, such as adequate materials, sufficient preparation time, and so forth. Some typical statements along these lines are: "is the amount of time invested in adaptive teaching in proportion to the results to be obtained?" "adaptive teaching requires much more time than class-based teaching"; and "the innovation is going much too rapidly: we want to realize too many aspects of adaptive teaching all at once."

Impact-concerns mean that teachers worry more about the extent to which others—teachers and pupils—participate in innovations. An example of an impact-concern is: "How do we get older colleagues to go along with adaptive teaching? They have simply not learned how to handle large differences between pupils."

Particularly the self-concerns of teachers play an important role in the difficult process of implementation of adaptive teaching. The uncertainty that tends to accompany self-concerns in particular must be taken very seriously. The uncertainty is a natural reaction, and the resistance that can stem from such uncertainty can play an important role in the implementation of adaptive teaching. Expressions of concerns point to tensions, discrepancies, and shortcomings that may arise from a comparison of the opinions of the teachers themselves with the external demands of policy. But the same tensions may also encompass opportunities for personal and professional development. If the concerns are listened to carefully and the tensions analyzed adequately, there are certainly possibilities for development. In principle, all expressions of concern constitute excellent points for professional development.

External measures from, for example, the national government for the introduction of contemporary teaching methods show frequent indications of failure (Elmore, 1996). This may be because implementation of adaptive teaching is a complex process requiring clear motivation and action on the part of the participants. Numerous barriers can be encountered in the steps that need to be taken for implementation. In addition, these barriers can frequently be attributed to a lack of skills and an appropriate attitude on the part of the teachers (Fullan, 1993). Many people in the actual practice of teaching doubt the possibility of real educational innovation. The plan that the policy-maker has in mind usually does not correspond to the experiences and perceptions of the teachers. The ques-

tion, then, is whether the so-called objective educational and innovational goals are too removed from the more "subjective" feelings of teachers? Or, is it perhaps really the case that educational experts are not very good at making the connection between the objective demands being placed on adaptive teaching, on the one hand, and the subjective educational concepts of the teachers themselves, on the other hand? This is an important source of tension, and the question is just how this tension should be dealt with. Is it useful to confront teachers with policy that has been developed elsewhere and give them responsibility for only its implementation? It may be probably more important that they "enter into a discussion" with supporters and facilitators (Van den Berg & Vandenberghe, 1999). Only then can teachers really work on implementation of adaptive teaching.

The innovations should sufficiently fit the opinions and needs of the teachers (Hall & Hord, 1987; Hopkins, Ainscow & West, 1994). More and more studies—both national and international—are showing teachers to be the "victims" of externally developed plans that did not sufficiently take the opinions of teachers with regard to good teaching into consideration. This is also a very important reason for why adaptive teaching is so difficult to realize on a large scale. As Richardson (1990) has pointed out, it is desirable that the practical knowledge of teachers, their work experience, and their personal "biographies" be taken into consideration during the course of an innovation.

The Content of Teaching

It is desirable that teachers have both the attitude and feeling of keeping "control" over innovations (Hargreaves, 1994). Teachers must reduce the complexity of many innovations to attainable methods (Knapp, 1997). Until now, many innovations have been tackled on an overly large-scale basis (Elmore, 1996; Geijsel, Sleegers & Van den Berg, 1999). Numerous goals are realized by a large number of schools at the same time. Numerous people and institutions are also involved. Reduction is also thus a prerequisite for increasing the likelihood of successful innovation. An important ingredient is to have teachers develop their own personal action plans during an innovation process. The implementation of adaptive teaching involves complicated and long-term processes. The content is multifaceted: it can pertain to effective instruction, the promotion of independent work on the part of pupils, better social-emotional development, and so forth. In addition to this, there are procedural problems, such as the ability to realize models for differentiation and good class management. Therefore small-scale actions are recommended

In order to consider the local situation for each school to the greatest extent possible, it is important that the innovation be organized on a small-scale basis. There is growing recognition that a strategy for breaking large-scale and complex innovations into smaller steps is important (Knapp,

1997). In order to make these small-scale learning routes possible, personal action plans are utilized within the Dutch program. Such plans are based on the personal working concepts of each individual teacher. The action plans indicate what the teachers plan to realize in the next two months within the framework of adaptive teaching. After two months, the action plans are evaluated and new action plans are formulated for the next two months. Each school identifies a specific theme within the framework of adaptive teaching for itself. Within this theme, small-scale personal action plans are sought.

Adaptive teaching, authentic learning, and the creation of a powerful learning environment require considerable change on the part of teachers and their didactic methods. Hopkins (1990) shows teachers recognize the value of creating a "powerful learning environment" but not the consequences of such for their knowledge, instructional methods, or class management skills. The risk is that the proposed changes are acknowledged verbally but simply do not influence the actions of the teacher. Schools and teachers often already apply forms of adaptive teaching or strive to do this but that much greater support at the level of the class is needed for this. In addition to this, new or adapted study materials need to be developed. In light of the fact that the difficulty of such an implementation process is also often underestimated, numerous implementation problems may present themselves with respect to the didactic behavior of the teachers in particular. Adaptive teaching pertains, after all, to some fundamental changes in the role of the teacher while the majority of teachers have been trained in a very different tradition.

Roosendaal and Vermunt (1997) call for caution with respect to a number of aspects of adaptive teaching and authentic learning. These researchers examined the relation between learning styles and independent learning. They came to the conclusion that it is very important for pupils to really be given the opportunity to learn independently. But this has to be learned. The abrupt removal of external steering without having worked seriously on the development of self-steering skills, which constitute part of the foundation for adaptive teaching, appears to be one of the most dangerous implementation pitfalls. Teachers must, themselves, acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to develop the different aspects of the new learning processes in pupils. This means the gradual development of alternative learning styles with the teacher gradually providing less external steering. The aforementioned researchers also conclude that teachers need more opportunity to practice new didactic skills.

Leadership

Schools are being given greater autonomy today: the administration, the leadership, and the teachers are increasingly allowed to develop and follow their own policies. The last decades have shown an increased search

for alternative educational designs. Schools are also expected to take full advantage of the opportunities being presented to them. Schools are currently construed as "living organizations" responsible for the development of their own goals and strategies for educational improvement (Isaacson & Bamburg, 1992; Senge, 1990). All of this clearly calls for specific leadership. The school leader must sufficiently motivate teachers to implement the intended changes. School leaders generally have considerable authority with regard to the implementation of innovations at the level of the school. They are also, then, evaluated with regard to: which goals they pursue; which factors they attempt to influence; the resources that they use; their manner of decision making; and the effectiveness of the strategies they apply.

Numerous researchers have detected a clear connection between school leadership and both the progress and development of pupils (Hallinger & Heck, 1996; Leithwood & Jantzi, 1999; Geijsel, Sleegers & Van den Berg, 1999). They have seen an indirect influence of school leaders on student achievement. The school leadership plays a very clear but *indirect* role in the development of a result-oriented school culture. At the same time, it is found that such a form of leadership is not completely intertwined with the individual school leader him/herself. Erroneously, one person is often allocated leadership while a school is clearly a conglomeration of various steering and support functions. In such a manner, leadership is not limited to individuals in formal management functions and teachers can also play a leading role. It is always the case that when new roles are introduced into existing organizations, implementation problems can arise. The challenge, then, is to have teachers in a leadership role perform tasks and thereby respect the existing functions.

There is a growing need for a new perspective on the organization of schools and the functioning of school leaders with an eye to the successful implementation of adaptive teaching (Van den Berg, Vandenberghe, & Sleegers, 1999). Whoever wants to successfully guide the implementation of adaptive teaching is predominantly concerned with the individual-subjective experiences and culture-bound opinions of teachers. If teachers are given the opportunity to experiment in their classes and receive support from the school leader while doing this, the chances of useful and significant change are greatly increased. Such experiences can then make for good problem solving during the next phase of innovation. Good school leaders actually anticipate forthcoming changes and problems and thus raise the existing culture within an organization for discussion. During the process of change, they are also then in a position to prevent the negative consequences of such—in the form of confusion, fear, and a loss of professional balance among teachers—with the adoption of a joint approach and proficient handling of the emotional sides of change (Geijsel, Sleegers, & Van den Berg, 1999; Leithwood, Tomlinson, & Genge, 1996). Their expertise is that they are capable of communicating new

joint objectives of adaptive teaching and convincing teachers of the value of these; they are also capable of imposing high expectations and promoting the methods of work needed to meet these expectations. Under such leadership, the teachers themselves discover the discrepancies between class-based teaching and adaptive teaching. In addition, they experience respect and see that their own ideas, needs, and feelings are taken seriously.

Differences Between Schools

According to the evaluation of the Dutch program, professional development of teachers appears to be strongly dependent on the manner in which the school leader deals with any uncertainties about the form of adaptive teaching. In a number of schools, both self-concerns and task-concerns continue to occur. Teachers have ongoing doubts about their own expertise and want to know increasingly more about just what adaptive teaching entails even after two years. In these schools, one can also speak less of the presence of good leadership. A clearly developed vision of adaptive teaching, the goals of adaptive teaching, and how the schools plan to realize these goals in the next few years is completely lacking. Also, the information provided to the teachers appears to be insufficient. In addition, the need for consultation and cooperation does not stand out in these schools.

In a number of other schools, in contrast, the need for consultation and cooperation is very large. In the latter group of schools, a more collegial approach to the large differences between pupils is therefore being sought. Teachers in the latter groups of schools are also becoming more aware of the question of how each student can best be helped. Adaptive teaching is thus a priority in these schools.

Considerable differences have also been observed between schools during the *national distribution* of the adaptive teaching program. Interviews with, for example, school A showed maintaining order within the school to have top priority for the school leader. Due—in part—to a lack of personnel, scheduling problems exist and thereby obstacles to the optimal functioning of the internal guidance team. Little time is taken to provide feedback to the teachers and thereby the promotion of their professional development. In the personal action plans from the teachers in this school, aspects of peace and order are mentioned most. The school leader also still has a "wait and see" attitude towards the program.

In school B at the same point in the implementation trajectory as school A, in contrast, the school leader considers taking the concerns of all team members seriously to be his responsibility. The school leader recognizes that not everyone in the team has the same qualities and therefore assumes differences between the team members. The different personal work concepts of the teachers are kept in mind, and it is seen that everyone can fol-

low the innovation speed. In addition to this concern for the personal development of each teacher, working with personal action plans is an important pillar in the program. The teachers clearly know what they are supposed to aspire to within the framework of adaptive teaching. After the conduct of every personal action plan, consultation with a colleague occurs in the form of an evaluation. In this particular school, the personal development of the teachers runs parallel to cooperation with colleagues. The school leader gives clear direction to the process of implementing adaptive teaching.

Interventions

Teachers initially learn new behaviors through their interactions with others in workshops and training sessions. Behavioral changes in the domains of teaching and learning occur primarily as a result of small-scale in-service training sessions with a dialogical character (Joyce & Showers, 1995). In turn, such behavioral changes can lead to structural changes. Methods of working in which new structures are declared to have priority typically lead to confusion, which can also lead to conflict and—in the end—termination of the change process. Educational innovation policy should take advantage of the changes that have already occurred in schools. Schools should be given sufficient policy space so that sufficient learning opportunities and learning space for the teachers are available. It strikes us as obvious that central innovation policy should be stepwise policy development accepted and enabled by the schools themselves. In such a manner, the teachers can build up adaptive teaching step-by-step. Practice has slowly taught us that such an approach is most sensible.

A fundamental starting point for the implementation of adaptive teaching is that changes must grow from the bottom up even when external supporters from outside have been called in to help facilitate the change process. Such growth also thus requires the availability of people within the school to help steer the change process. But what demands does this place on the school leaders? In-class observation of teachers and provision of feedback, for example, constitute a very effective means of steering although primarily for school leaders who are strongly oriented towards the personal development of teachers (Slavin, 1996). Within such a strategy, encouraging teachers to justify how they work and explaining what self-reflection is for may also be very important. Preference has those forms of help (intervention) that take the different opinions of teachers with regard to their work most into consideration. The expectation is that particularly through self-reflection and feedback on daily class and school practice, an innovation gets realized. This assumption fits with one of the central learning principles for a so-called learning organization: the feedback principle (Senge, 1990). Also during interventions, thus, one should

attend to the personal attachment of meaning and the working concepts of both teachers and school leaders.

Innovations must be perceived as directly applicable by teachers. Joyce and Showers (1995) have suggested that when an innovation is proposed, teachers should be asked to judge the practical feasibility of the innovation. Such judgments obviously influence the degree of implementation, and teachers determine the applicability of an innovation for their class anyway. Teachers consider an innovation in terms of their own situation: Does an innovation—such as adaptive teaching—fit into my daily practice? Can I integrate adaptive teaching into the image that I have of my pupils? Can I integrate adaptive teaching with the manner in which I interact with my pupils? When an innovation is proposed, teachers ask whether they will gain enough in return for the required investment—not in terms of money but in terms of, for example, student results and personal satisfaction. In other words, the more the results and expectations propagated by policymakers actually correspond to the experiences of teachers, the more attainable the innovation. Conflicting expectations and misconceptions, in contrast, can only weaken the implementation of an innovation (i.e., adaptive teaching).

Successful change is not a fast process. Change requires extreme patience and time on the part of the participants. It is therefore necessary to be very realistic about what a school in a period of a year can reach. During most educational implementation processes, a change of teachers' personal work concepts is of primary concern. Some studies on the implementation of such innovations as adaptive teaching, early literacy and improved early reading instruction, for example, clearly indicates a need for a multi-year support policy with feedback and coaching on the work floor as crucial elements (Hobsbaum, 1996; Hobsbaum & Hillman, 1994; Slavin, 1996). In addition to this, it is frequently found that the effects of such an innovation only become really visible to the pupils during the third or fourth implementation years.

Besides, preference has that teachers work jointly in a professional group to improve one's own practices and maximize the motivation of teachers under increasingly complex and demanding work circumstances (Hargreaves, 1994; Van den Berg & Sleegers, 1996). The promotion of professional cooperation between teachers is an important characteristic of the Dutch program and promoted in two different manners. First, every teacher works together with a "buddy" as coach. With this peer coach, personal action plans are jointly developed and consultation is undertaken with regard to the progress and experiences with the personal action plans. In addition to this, teachers work in teams. Within these teams, the personal action plans of all colleagues are discussed on the basis of an evaluation every two months. In such a manner, one can speak of optimal reflection on the individual functioning of every teacher.

TOWARDS AN INTEGRATION OF THE FOUR DOMAINS

A shift of thinking is needed towards the use of initiatives coming from both inside and outside the school during the implementation process. When these initiatives do not take the culture of the school and the personal work concepts of the teachers sufficiently into consideration, they will not lead to actual improvements. Starting from this assumption, it can be concluded that adaptive teaching will be most effective when sufficient cohesion exists between four critical domains. These four domains will be briefly summarized below. From numerous reflections on strategies for innovation, and from considerable research on innovations, it can be deduced that these domains are of critical importance for the quality of innovations and positive results (Van den Berg, Vandenberghe & Sleegers, 1999). As just mentioned, moreover, the domains are viewed as a cohesive whole.

To start with, *the personal work concepts of teachers* greatly influence the realization of adaptive teaching. One recognizes the significance and different meanings that teachers attach to their work in order to understand their professional development. Teachers strongly differ in their opinions regarding the quality of their work and just whether and how they themselves might improve. The providers of support and facilitators must therefore take these differences into consideration.

Second, it appears that dealing with differences in the learning process will continue to be an important theme in the form of *adaptive teaching*. Individual learning routes and powerful learning environments that motivate active learning need to be developed. This calls for a fundamental modification of the existing educational system and methods of working. Schools, classes, and groups must function differently. At the same time, school leaders and teachers must devote greater attention to different group formations and, within these, the use of procedures for cooperative learning.

The *leadership in schools* exerts a clear influence on just how people realize innovations. In doing this, various cultural and personal aspects of the school are recognized. The different cultures of schools, the functioning of teachers within the school, and good leadership are all important factors. School leaders realize that teachers attribute their own meanings to the work situation, which puts them in a position to develop their teaching expertise.

Interventions, in closing, cannot take place without taking the different opinions of teachers into consideration. During the implementation of innovations, small-scale methods of working are preferred. The more concrete the formulation of the content of the innovation, with the aid of reflection and feedback, the greater the chances of successful realization. For the teachers in connection with a team or not, specific schooling mod-

els can be developed with extensive attention to coaching. Such interventions are of critical importance when the teachers are still wrestling with implementation problems, as such problems often give rise to strong feelings of uncertainty.

In the preceding, we have indicated how individual professional development of teachers and the school leadership are well-attuned to each other. Attention is specifically asked for the concerns and subjective perceptions of the teachers. Teachers build on their own personal system of knowledge, skills, and attitudes with respect to adaptive teaching. On the basis of this, they also work on their professional development. Learning experiences can clearly influence this, which means that abundant learning opportunities are recommended. In such a manner, teachers are also challenged to develop smaller experiments (or actions) to enable adaptive teaching.

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CHAPTER 4

TRANSFORMATIVE PATHWAYS IN BECOMING AN EARLY CHILDHOOD TEACHER

Joy Goodfellow and Jennifer Sumsion

INTRODUCTION

As university-based teacher educators, we are committed to supporting student teachers as they struggle with the complexities and challenges of becoming early childhood teachers. In doing so, we too encounter complexities and challenges as we inquire into and attempt to make explicit, our understandings of early childhood professional development and practice. As we explore the context and nature of student teacher development and our practices in supporting that development, we engage in critical appreciation (Fish, 1998) to construct a deeper understanding of the complexities of teachers' work. Like many of the students and teachers with whom we have spoken, we struggle to find language that adequately conveys our developing understandings of the complexity of professional development and practice. Our struggle, in part, is because our interest is not in what professional practice "looks like at the level of its visible charac-

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teristics, but how the visible and invisible characteristics of professional practice come together ... in harmony" (Fish, 1998, p. 199).

Our endeavors to refine our understandings of professional development are grounded in our collaborative conversations with student teachers and experienced early childhood teachers (Goodfellow, 1995, 1998, 2000; Sumsion, 1997a, 1997b, 2000). In making meaning of these conversations we have been influenced by the writing of Clandinin and Connelly (Clandinin, 1985; Clandinin & Connelly, 1986; 1987; 2000), Cole and Knowles (2000), Beattie (1997), McLean (1999) and others who view teaching "from the inside" (Elbaz, 1991, p. 1). In this chapter, we apply our understanding of these texts as we explore our developing sense of processes in which students may engage as they construct their understandings of becoming early childhood teachers.

LEARNING TO TEACH AND BECOMING A TEACHER

We bring to this endeavor a strong belief that it is important to distinguish between "learning to teach" and "becoming a teacher." It seems to us that learning to teach can reflect technical/rational views of professional practice that privilege predetermined and readily identifiable competencies. Learning to teach is only a part of becoming a teacher.

We believe that being a teacher is embodied and relational. Those teachers who experience teaching to the fullest feel a sense of self in relationship with others. Becoming a teacher, therefore, involves coming to experience self in relationship to others. These relationships have emotional, ethical and moral dimensions that can be overlooked when the focus is on the more technical aspects of learning to teach (McLean, 1999).

Much of the literature about teacher professional development takes a stage-based perspective that assumes an identifiable sequence through which developing professionals progress (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999). For example, Fuller and Bown (1975) identify three stages in relation to learning to teach: focussing first on survival, then on managing the day-to-day tasks of teaching and eventually, on children within the social contexts of teaching. Other authors (e.g., Berliner, 1994; Caruso & Fawcett, 1999; Katz, 1972; VanderVen, 1991) have etched similar portraits of teacher professional development.

We acknowledge that these stages convey some sense of the complexity of teaching, and some recognition that teaching involves "thinking and acting in complex, contextual, and emotional ways" (McLean, 1999, p. 67). However, they fail to fully illuminate the nature of becoming a professional for they seem unable to portray the complexity of interactions that occur within the context of teaching (Zeichner, 1985). We question, therefore,

whether the notion of stages readily reflects the processes associated with becoming a teacher, or indeed, the diversity of teaching styles. The changing context of the early childhood field and the growing complexity and demands of the teacher's role, accentuate the inadequacies of stage-type models and highlight the need for alternative conceptualisations.

An Ecological Perspective

We perceive professional practice as complex and interconnected, encompassing moral, relational, imaginative and intuitive aspects and qualities, as well as technical skills (Fish, 1998; Cole & Knowles, 2000; Dahlberg et al., 1999). Inherent in professional practice is "some irreducible element of mystery ... which will never yield fully to analysis" (Fish, 1998, p. 200). And yet, as teacher educators, we need to understand how students may come to appreciate the complexity and interconnectedness of professional practice.

As we grapple with how we might move beyond stage-based perspectives, we are encouraged by Rodgers and Dunn's (2000) investigation of processes associated with early childhood student teachers' theory building. Rodgers and Dunn challenge early childhood teacher educators to make their own personal practical theories more explicit in order to encourage student teachers to examine their own understandings of and theories about professional practice. In responding to this challenge we have turned to ecological perspectives to refine our understandings.

Ecological perspectives recognize that seemingly separate entities are part of "an inseparable web of relationships" (Capra, 1996, p. 37). In contrast to the technical/rational emphasis on discrete components and individuals acting in isolation, ecological perspectives emphasize the importance of interrelationships and connectedness (Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998). To understand professional development from an ecological perspective, we need to not only take account of the person, but also the relationships and environments that influence who the professional is as a person. If we are to understand more about becoming an early childhood teacher we need to consider the dialectical process of professional development that starts with "knowing oneself and then opens out to relationships with others" (Delors, 1998, p. 95).

In further exploring the potential of ecological perspectives to inform our understandings of early childhood professional development and practice, we enlisted the help of cooperating teachers. They participated in focus group conversations that centred on their perceptions of their contributions to student teachers' personal-professional development. Subsequently, we represented our understandings that emerged from those

focus group discussions within the ecological framework represented in (Goodfellow & Sumsion, 2000).

We saw this ecological framework as a way of scaffolding our developing understanding of processes that might be involved in coming to know and to embody the essence, or heart, of early childhood teaching. In this chapter, we focus on transformation, a notion we touched upon but did not explore in any depth when we first wrote about our representation (Goodfellow & Sumsion, 2000). Before elaborating on what we mean by transformation we briefly explain our representation, and its limitations.

In constructing our representation, we attempted to portray the interconnectedness of the diverse influences and different contexts that can be instrumental in student teachers' personal-professional development. We used concentric circles to suggest that there are several layers through which student teachers might journey in coming to know about, understand and embody the nature of teaching. These layers are like layers of clouds, each shifting, changing and reforming; sometimes transparent, at other times opaque; sometimes blending in a relationship with each other,

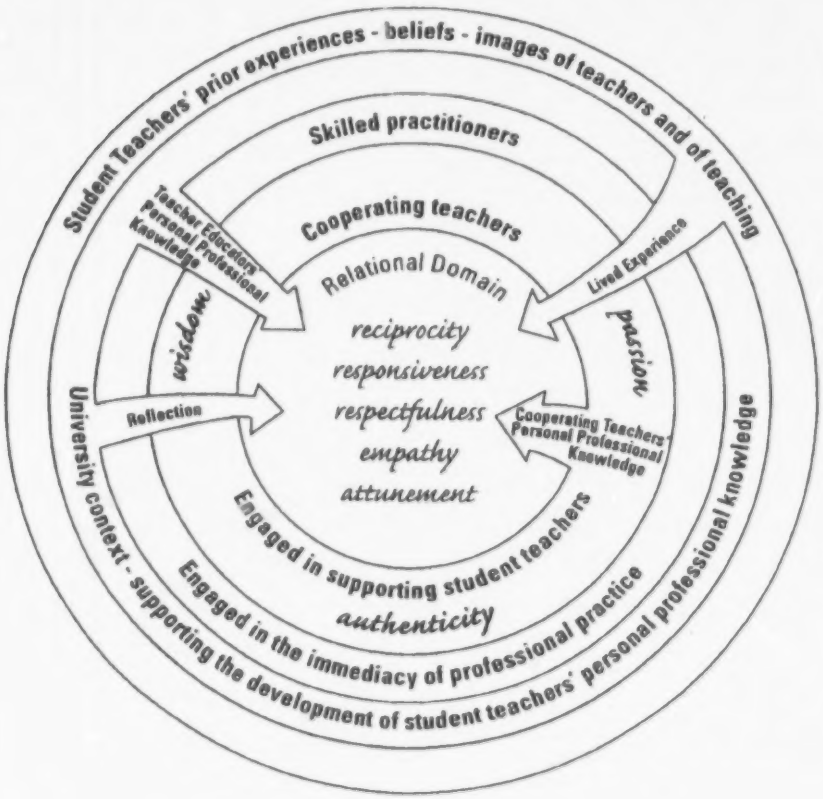

FIGURE 1
Representation of Possible Pathways in Student Teacher Professional Development

sometimes discrete. The layers include, but are not limited to, the meanings that student teachers attach to their experiences, beliefs, and images of teachers and teaching; their reflections on these within the university context; and their contextual understanding facilitated by interactions with their cooperating teachers and other skilled practitioners.

The inner circle of our representation reflects our belief that relationships are at the heart of teaching. We refer to this inner circle as the relational domain. To be an effective teacher of young children one has to establish trusting, responsive and respectful relationships with adults and children. These relationships are fluid and complex; they encompass dialogue, conversation, conflict, confrontation and co-construction within the context of a relational pedagogy (Dahlberg et al., 1999; McLean, 1999).

We are aware that our representation could imply a developmental model suggesting that student teachers' personal-professional growth proceeds in a linear, hierarchical, or predetermined way with layers being interpreted as discrete learning contexts. This is not our intention, but a reflection of our difficulty in transcending linear conventions, and of the inherent contradiction of using a two-dimensional representation to portray a holistic process. While we acknowledge this contradiction, we have yet to find an alternative that adequately represents the interconnected nature of student teacher professional development and allows us to focus specifically on particular aspects of our understanding. These tensions constantly remind us of the complexity of the professional development, our uncertainties, and the issues with which we are grappling. Despite the limitations of our representation, we are excited by its potential to highlight the interconnectedness of different learning contexts, diverse influences, and layers of understanding. Moreover, we sense that it is this interconnectedness that gives rise to multiple transformative processes that can enable student teachers to move towards the relational domain and the essence of being a teacher.

We use the concept of transformation to convey a personal and professional journey that leads students to reconsider their prior beliefs and to develop new understandings about being an early childhood teacher. The transformative journey is not linear or sequential but one that ebbs and flows through ever-changing landscapes of practice, reflection and understanding. We liken transformation to moving "from one way of being to another" (Owen, 1987, p. 75). Transformation entails learning to "looking at things differently" (Becker, 1997, p. 177) and finding new ways of orienting oneself in the world (Miller & Ramos, 2000).

These new perspectives and orientations generate "new connections, new levels of awareness, and new possibilities ..." (Miller & Ramos, 2000, p. 7). While transformation involves coming to know oneself, it is grounded in relationship with others (Miller & Ramos, 2000).

In the following section, we identify four possible transformative pathways that capture some of the processes in becoming an early childhood

teacher. We focus on learning through experience, reflection, and teacher educators' and cooperating teachers' personal professional knowledge. The pathways reflect our synthesis of key issues emerging from the literature about student teacher development (see, e.g., reviews by Wideen et al., 1998 and Zeichner, 1999) and our developing understandings about becoming a teacher gained through our work with student teachers and cooperating teachers.

Lived Experience as a Transformative Pathway

Experience is part of life. Lived experience, however, is more than experience alone. In lived experience we attach some significance to the experience, either consciously or intuitively (Van Manen, 1991). The meanings we attach to our lived experiences become embodied in our everyday thoughts and actions. When we breathe meaning into experience it impacts on who we are and how we act and respond (Van Manen, 1991). This embodied nature of lived experience has the potential to generate new insights that can contribute to personal and professional growth.

Lived experience is cumulative. As we have represented in the outer rim of Figure 1, student teachers bring to their tertiary studies many experiences that have contributed to their beliefs and images about teaching and about being a teacher. These beliefs and images may "interact with and filter" (Wideen et al., 1998, p. 145) subsequent experiences of student teachers, and their ways of responding and acting. The interaction and filtering of prior and present experiences creates a fluidity of ideas and possibilities. Fluidity provides an opportunity to explore different ways of knowing, and to develop new understandings about self, about teaching and about being a teacher. Fieldwork and the opportunity for student teachers to engage with skilled practitioners and cooperating teachers, children and their families can provide a particularly rich context for lived experiences. The richness of the fieldwork context and the fluidity of student teachers' knowing and understanding can create a milieu in which personal growth and professional practice can flourish.

In our work with student teachers, however, we have observed that not all students gain from fieldwork experiences. Some students seem only to perform the tasks associated with specific university requirements. They appear to enact scripts reflecting images of teaching that have remained unchallenged by their experiences in their preservice program and to engage only superficially with children. These students may go through the motions but gain little from their fieldwork experience; they appear not to have engaged in the lived experience of being a beginning teacher (Goodfellow, 1995). It seems to us that conscious efforts to make meaning of experience are critical for professional growth (Miller & Ramos, 2000).

There are also those student teachers that find it difficult to be attuned to children, to the expectations of their cooperating teacher and to university requirements regarding their fieldwork. To be attuned requires students to read and take cues from the environment. A lack of attunement shows in the tone and manner conveyed by the students in their relationships with children and in their inability to act in harmony within the environment in which they are undertaking their fieldwork (Goodfellow, 1995).

Julie, a cooperating teacher, remarked how important it was for student teachers to demonstrate an "awareness" in order to become attuned to the environment. She expected that student teachers would be responsible in their relationships with adults and children. For Julie, awareness was a form of conscious knowing about or sensitivity toward the social and physical context within which the student was working. Julie reported:

> The student (was)... lacking awareness. (She needs to)... become aware of what's she's doing and how she's doing it (rather than)... doing things automatically... She needs to know, (within herself) that what she's doing is the beginning of being a teacher (Goodfellow, 1995, p. 116).

Julie emphasized the importance of knowing that comes with experiencing the beginning of being a teacher. She also emphasized *experiencing* rather than *the experience* as if awareness was to be found in both an appreciation of self within the fieldwork context and in the active engagement between self and other. Her expectation that students display awareness and attunement suggests that relationships are critical to lived experience and to teaching.

Relationships are dialectical in that they involve a two way process between the two parties in the relationship. Lived experience can be enhanced by rich relationships that, in turn, may lead to understandings of the essence of the teaching process as being about establishing and maintaining trusting relationships. Students who make conscious efforts to draw meaning from experience seem to be able to develop professionally through fieldwork. In the process of reflecting on experience, student teachers make connections between new learning and past experience; they make decisions about their own learning needs; and they consider their actions in relation to the context within which they practice.

Reflection as a Transformative Pathway

In this chapter we use reflection as a generic term for any deliberate effort to make meaning of the complexities, uncertainties and ambiguities that are inherent in becoming a teacher. Reflection encompasses, but is not limited to, exploring experiences to gain and refine insights, appreciations and understandings (Boud, Koegh, & Walker, 1985). It can involve

analytical processes, such as looking back on experiences, decisions and actions; identifying and considering alternatives; and reconsidering former views. It can also include embodied, affective, intuitive and contemplative processes (for elaboration, see Valli, 1997; Wellington & Austin, 1996). Reflection can expand and deepen appreciation of the complexities of professional practice and what it means to be a professional. As such, it has the potential to be a transformative process for student teachers.

Reflection can help us to refine our awareness of the meanings we attach to our lived experiences and to understand why we attach the meanings that we do to these experiences (Mezirow, 1981). It can also help student teachers refine their awareness and understandings by enabling them "to gain access both to their own and alternative perspectives" (Diamond, 1991, p. 15) from which to interpret their experiences. From fuller and enriched interpretations, new relationships between ideas and experiences can be gleaned, new ways of being and acting can be constructed and embodied, and new ways of approaching complexities can then be conceptualized.

The following excerpts from a longitudinal investigation of student teachers' reflection, illustrate how reflection assisted Nina to experience and appreciate the relational domain of teaching (Sumsion, 1997). When Nina reflected on the lived experiences that had brought her to teaching, and interrogated the meanings which she attached to those experiences, she identified the influence of her father's expectation that she strive for excellence in all she attempted as formative. Her goal as an early childhood teacher was to achieve professional excellence. "My dream is to have my own preschool or long daycare center, and for it to be a model centre" she confided.

In the early stages of her preservice program, Nina tried to achieve her goal by accumulating a "wealth of knowledge" from her university-based teacher educators. She assumed that professional excellence could be achieved by absorbing a great deal of predetermined theoretical knowledge and developing the technical skills to apply this knowledge in practice. By participating in tutorial discussions in which student teachers reflected on the images they held of themselves, identified the implicit assumptions that underpinned these images, and considered how these assumptions might contribute to the scripts they were constructing for themselves as teachers, Nina began to realize that becoming an excellent teacher "wasn't cut and dried; wasn't black and white"; indeed it was a much more complex process than she had envisaged. While the uncertainties and ambiguities involved in becoming a teacher initially disconcerted her, she gradually began to welcome

> the freedom to put yourself into it. You didn't have to tell the tutor or lecturer what they wanted to hear. It was okay to have different ideas as long as you could reflect on your ideas and understand them within your self. You were able to bring in your own colors.

Similarly, her fieldwork experiences provided many opportunities "to bounce a lot of ideas off my cooperating teachers." From their responses, Nina began to sense that she "had a lot of preconceived ideas [about what constituted excellence] and that sometimes I was too critical, too quick to judge." Nina described this realisation as "a really big breakthrough for me in terms of my professional development." She found that in becoming more open and responsive to new ideas and possibilities, she also became more open and responsive in her interactions with others.

Nina described the following interaction with a very young child who was not yet able to engage socially with others, as pivotal in helping her to understand the profound impact that, as a teacher, she might have on others. She explained:

> I picked him up and held him firmly and closely. He cried, but did not push me away. I spoke softly, acknowledging that I understood that his head hurt. As I held him, I began to rock Billy in my arms. He fell asleep!! I sat there for several minutes holding Billy in my arms as he slept. I realized that I had made a small impression in this child's life - for that moment he trusted me and allowed me to comfort him. We were no longer' two blank faces looking at each other. We were two people who knew a little more about each other. When he woke, I made a point of approaching him and offering a cuddle, which he accepted. I realized that he was learning to trust me and that we had begun a journey together towards discovery. I wish I could have stayed at the centre longer to work with him. Do children we care for and educate feel a sense of loss or betrayal when we leave, I wonder?

Experiences that reflected the relational domain helped Nina to transcend the narrow technical view of professional excellence that she had brought to her preservice program. They also encouraged her to consider the moral and ethical implications for teaching.

As Nina progressed through the program, her commitment to building a trusting and supportive relationship with individual children developed into broader concerns. As a beginning early childhood teacher, she began to consider how she might be able to work toward socio-political reform that could contribute to children's well being. Reflection, for Nina, constituted a transformative process. It helped her to transcend the constraints of her initial images of teaching and to develop new and richer perspectives about what it might mean to be an early childhood teacher.

PERSONAL PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE AS A TRANSFORMATIVE PATHWAY

Like Cole and Knowles (2000), we take the view that the complexity of teaching and learning to teach requires that teachers and student teachers

draw on many forms of knowledge and engage in multiple ways of knowing. Knowledge can encompass theoretical knowledge, experiential knowledge, embodied knowledge, contextual knowledge and practical knowledge; knowing represents "a continual process of generating, refining and understanding knowledge" (Higgs & Tichen, 1995, p. 9). Knowledge and knowing, therefore, are intertwined.

Traditionally, teacher education programs reflected dualistic conceptions of knowledge and knowing. Theory and practice were seen as separate (Korthagen & Kessels, 1999). It was assumed that theoretical knowledge was acquired on university campuses, while practical knowing developed during field experiences (Korthagen & Kessels, 1999; McLean, 1999). Our work with student teachers and cooperating teachers has encouraged us to find ways of constructing alternate understandings of the complexity of teaching and learning to teach that reflect the personal yet ecological nature of knowledge and knowing.

Our focus on the personal reflects our view that development is more likely to occur if the person concerned takes the knowledge and makes it their own (Gardner, 1999). It also reflects our emphasis on the embodied, emotional, moral and aesthetic nature of teachers' knowledge and knowing. Clandinin (1989) introduced us to the concept of *personal practical* knowledge that is "carved out of, and shaped by situations" (p. 122). Fish (1998) also conveys a holistic view but emphasizes the deliberate and considered nature of professional knowledge.

While these writers have enriched our thinking, we feel the need to go beyond the notions of Clandinin's personal practical knowledge and Fish's professional knowledge. In particular, we argue that it is important to highlight the situatedness of teachers' knowledge. By this, we mean that teachers' knowledge is situated not only within oneself and within one's practice; it is also located within the knowledge base and culture of the early childhood teaching profession and, in turn, within the broader socio-cultural-political context. For this reason, we prefer the term personal professional knowledge.

Personal professional knowledge encompasses personal theories, practical knowledge and knowledge of self. It also includes knowledge of the profession's theoretical and cultural base, current developments within the profession, and knowledge of the socio-political context in which professional understandings are constructed and acted upon. Personal professional knowledge incorporates the diverse modes of knowing (emotional, embodied, aesthetic, moral) identified by Clandinin and Fish but extends beyond attunement to self. Personal professional knowledge is contextualized within an understanding of the profession, the challenges it faces and the debates in which it is engaged, and how these are shaped by, and in turn, can shape, wider socio-cultural-political agendas. This contextualized knowledge has the potential to generate insights that can inform practice in ways that are not only personally meaningful but also reflect an appreci-

ation of the broader context. The ways in which teacher educators and cooperating teachers draw on their personal professional knowledge can provide transformative processes that support student teacher learning.

TEACHER EDUCATORS' PERSONAL PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE AS A TRANSFORMATIVE PATHWAY

As teacher educators, we are actively engaged in constructing and reconstructing our personal professional knowledge and in confronting the challenges we encounter. Many of these challenges are associated with finding ways to balance our multiple responsibilities to our students. We struggle to find a balance between supporting student teachers as they develop their ideas about teaching and being a teacher, and challenging them to critically examine these ideas. We puzzle over how to encourage student teachers to embrace the complexity of teaching without overwhelming them or undermining their sense of self-efficacy (McLean, 1999). We wonder, too, how we might increase students' tolerance for the discomfort of uncertainty and help them to accept that being a teacher involves many frustrations and much disquiet (Beattie, 1997), without eroding their commitment to becoming a teacher. We find it difficult to balance our beliefs that reflection and inquiry are essential for professional growth and that the relational domain is at the heart of teaching, with our recognition that reflection, inquiry, and particular images of teachers cannot be mandated (Beattie, 1997). We find it difficult, too, to know how much of our uncertainty we can share with our students without jeopardizing their trust in us and their regard for our professional expertise (Price & Osborne, 2000).

We have been tempted to adopt the personae of experts who have long since resolved the challenges and mastered the complexities of teaching. However, we believe that we have more to offer our students when we acknowledge that we, too, encounter challenges and complexities, and that like all teachers, we live with "uneasy compromises and discontinuities" in our practices (McLean, 1997, p. 205). We sense that being open about our uncertainties and our continuing efforts to make sense of our work as teacher educators brings an authenticity to our practice. It seems to us that unless we continue to experience what it means to engage in efforts to know, we cannot contribute effectively to others' efforts to know about teaching and being a teacher. Our first hand and continuing experience of attempting to make sense of our practice has helped to enrich our personal professional knowledge base and, we hope, our work with student teachers (Price & Osborne, 2000).

The more we have grappled with the challenges we encounter as teacher educators, the more we have realized that if we are to refine our

understandings and practice, we need opportunities to explore the complexities underpinning the challenges. We have come to realize that student teachers, too, need similar opportunities to explore the complexities and challenges they encounter. We have worked hard, therefore, to foster "communities of inquiry" (Beattie, 1997, p. 126) within our preservice programs.

By communities of inquiry, we mean shared opportunities for teacher educators and student teachers to pursue their exploration into, and engage in conversations about, the complexities and challenges inherent in being a teacher. Through the use of small group discussions, interactive journal writing, action research, portfolio development, collaborative study groups, and similar strategies, we are striving to create communities where ideas can be interrogated within supportive contexts (Price & Osborne, 2000). We see these communities underpinned by reflection, collaboration, and learning grounded in relationships with others (Beattie, 1997); a valuing of lived experience; and a deep commitment to ongoing personal professional growth. We have tried to capture these ideas in Figure 1.

Creating and sustaining such communities requires us to draw deeply on our personal professional knowledge as teacher educators, and especially on our understanding of the relational domain. We need empathy for student teachers, and an appreciation of the emotions that they experience as they engage in the challenges of constructing and reconstructing their personal professional knowledge. We need to establish a climate of trust and respect for individual differences in perspectives, beliefs, and experiences, while nurturing a sense of community and social responsibility. We need to know when to challenge, and when to support. We need to design programs that transcend the traditional theory-practice; assist student teachers to make connections; to challenge previously held beliefs and have the confidence to explore new understandings.

Becoming a teacher is "a complex and deeply personal matter" (Beattie, 1997, p. 117) that involves coming to know, and to have confidence in oneself. Ultimately, however, student teachers need to move beyond a preoccupation with self. As teacher educators, we have a responsibility to assist student teachers to expand their focus. At the very least, we have an obligation to ensure that they become aware of the expectations of the early childhood teaching profession, and develop the skills and knowledge required by the profession.

At the same time, we need to do more than prepare students for the profession; we need to foster their capacity to critique and to challenge the orthodoxies of the profession. We need to help them to identify the debates and silences within the profession, and to locate these within broader socio-political-cultural contexts. We need to encourage our students to interrogate these debates and silences and to consider implications for their practice. And we need to encourage them to consider how,

as early childhood teachers, they might be perpetuating, or working to overcome injustices and inequities. Fulfilling these and other responsibilities as teacher educators requires us to draw on and inquire into our personal professional knowledge, and to continue to construct, critique and refine the understandings that underpin this knowledge.

As teacher educators we try to convey to our students an image of teaching as inquiring. We make explicit how we attempt to establish and nurture the relationships that underpin and sustain communities of inquiry. We try to model the strategies we use to engage in reflective inquiry, and to discuss with our students how our inquiry can assist us in our efforts to resolve the challenges we encounter as teachers. As well, we share with our students our efforts to engage in and to contribute to conversations and debate that are shaping and reshaping the profession. We also explain how our involvement in these conversations and debates prompts us to reconsider how early childhood education might reposition itself within the broader socio-political-cultural context so as to more effectively contribute to social justice and reform.

We sense, therefore, that our personal professional knowledge has the potential to be a transformative process for student teachers. It enables us to facilitate communities of inquiry; to support student teachers as they engage in inquiry; and to encourage them to expand the focus of their inquiry and to become more critical. Experiencing teaching and learning as inquiry may encourage students to revisit previously held beliefs and images, and to imagine and construct new possibilities and new ways of being a teacher (McLean, 1999).

When our students engage in fieldwork experiences they may encounter different views about teaching, learning to teach, and being a teacher. While our role is not to impose our views on others, we feel a responsibility to convey to cooperating teachers the ways in which we are working with student teachers in the university context. In particular, we share with them ways in which, as university-based teacher educators, we are drawing and continuing to construct our personal professional knowledge. Just as we see our sharing of our personal professional knowledge with students as a way of potentially engaging students in transformative processes, we encourage cooperating teachers to reflect on how they may share their personal professional knowledge with students.

COOPERATING TEACHERS' PERSONAL PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Cooperating teachers have a responsibility to support and foster student teacher professional development. Student teachers may also learn from other highly skilled practitioners with whom they come into contact. While

we recognize skilled practitioners' contribution to student teacher development, we have chosen to focus here on the personal professional knowledge of cooperating teachers because of the partnership between cooperating teachers and university based teacher educators.

Ideally, being a cooperating teacher involves creating and living in a day-to-day relationship with a student teacher. Enriching experiences gained within relationships can have a profound effect on the student teacher (Sumsion, 1997a). These relationships are the context within which the cooperating teacher's personal professional knowledge and the developing knowledge of the student teacher is explored, shared and enacted. Cooperating teachers may share with student teachers knowledge about children, families, curriculum, statutory regulations and other relevant information. They may also share personal/relational knowledge reflecting dimensions of knowing the children from the inside and of knowing oneself (Goodfellow, 1995).

Cooperating teachers can play a significant role in providing opportunities for student teachers to begin to experience what it is like to be a teacher by creating environments in which the professional development of student teachers can flourish. They can provide opportunities for student teachers to participate in a wide variety of experiences; develop relationships with children and adults; observe practicing teachers; engage in discussions about professional practice; take risks, and try out new ideas.

Irene, a cooperating teacher, considered the unique contribution she made to student teacher learning. She explained how she not only "knows" the children and "what they are like," but "how they came to be this way." She illustrated, through her reflection on a particular episode with Anna, a student teacher, how sharing her knowledge about children contributed to Anna's developing expertise and confidence. Irene explained:

> I'm excited.... because I have made a difference. I know that I have helped the student see the light.
>
> Yesterday we had a long talk about strategies and I said, "Well, in your mind, go through both the planned experience and the child you are specifically working with. Then run through the activities and because you know the child a little bit by now, imagine whether there may be a problem area in your plan and what you might do about it."
>
> And Anna (the student) said... "Oh! That could take hours."
>
> I said, "But it IS going to make a difference. You may not need to use all the things that you think about but if you need to, they are there in your mind."
>
> It obviously worked to-day. When I observed Anna I wrote down all the strategies that she used. When she had finished I asked her to make a list of those that she could remember. She wrote some down and then she said that she could not think of the rest. Then I showed her the list I had made.
>
> I was excited because yesterday Anna still didn't understand why it was worthwhile investing that extra time thinking about all the possible things

> that could happen. And, MY INFLUENCE, I'm sure, made a difference. And I feel great.
>
> Now, if she's improving with her strategies she is more likely to attempt things that are a little more difficult. The difficult things are those that are more reliant on understandings about children and having trusting and effective relationships with them... context and knowing are so important to the (planned) experience.[ND]

Irene was excited that she could enable the student to "see things in a different light" (Goodfellow, 1995, p. 193). Irene's confidence in her capacity as a cooperating teacher, her insights and enthusiasm, and her ability to find ways in which to foster confidence in the student teacher reflect the wisdom and passion that cooperating teachers referred to in our focus group discussions (Goodfellow & Sumsion, 2000). In addition, when cooperating teachers reflect on their practices with student teachers they convey the meaningfulness and purposefulness of teaching. Authenticity becomes apparent where student teachers are able to see and appreciate the purposefulness of teacher's work in environments where that work takes place. It is through the process of sharing and exposition that cooperating teachers can potentially create in student teachers, both a sense of reality and of a heightened sense of knowing (Tickle, 2000). In other words, professional knowledge can be co-constructed within relationships.

If early childhood settings are indeed places of "shared lives and relationships" and a forum for learning (Malaguzzi, 1993 cited in Dahlberg, 1999, p. 59), then co-constructing knowledge is extremely important. This does not mean that cooperating teachers want student teachers to imitate or clone them (Goodfellow, 1995). However, they do expect student teachers to fit in to their field placement. They expect student teachers to become attuned to the children; to establish relationships with children and adults; to respect the routines, policies and practices within the field placement; and to acknowledge their cooperating teacher's personal professional knowledge (Goodfellow, 1995).

Cooperating teachers' relationships with student teachers may require careful negotiation. Both the cooperating teacher and the student teacher may experience tensions in establishing relationships that can foster the student teacher's developing professional knowledge. Cooperating teachers may perceive differences between their own teaching styles and university expectations and may feel that they have limited strategies for working with student teachers. They may also experience difficulty in assisting students who display little awareness or attunement (Goodfellow, 2000). Where student teachers have difficulty in developing relationships, demands on the cooperating teacher's time may become a source of ten-

sion as the cooperating teacher's primary responsibility is to the children in their care.

Student teachers may also experience tensions in their relationships with cooperating teachers. They bring to their field placement their beliefs, images and developing personal professional knowledge about teachers, teaching and learning. These may conflict with their cooperating teacher's expectations. Student teachers need to take account of these expectations as they wrestle with constructing their own theories of practice. When student teachers appear to show little interest in constructing their personal professional knowledge or perceive they have limited opportunity to do so, they may rely heavily on their prior beliefs, images and experiences (Sumsion, 1997). Tensions such as these may limit the effectiveness of cooperating teachers' personal professional knowledge as a transformative pathway for student teachers.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have tried to represent the complexities of becoming an early childhood teacher through an ecological perspective that portrays the complexities of student teacher development. We have identified and explored a number of interconnected transformative pathways along which student teachers may journey towards the relational domain that lies at the heart of effective teaching.

In accepting responsibility for preparing teachers, teacher educators need to acknowledge the complexities and changing nature of professional practice; to interrogate existing understandings about becoming a teacher; and, to continue to refine these understandings. In our own meaning making, we have drawn from the literature and on own theories and practices. By making explicit our current understandings, we hope to contribute to further conversations about how teacher educators can more effectively foster student teacher development. Collaborative conversations and theorizing can further our understanding of student teacher development. It is from these understandings that we can continue to refine our practices.

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CHAPTER 5

ACCOUNTABILITY IN EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND EDUCATION

Martha J. Buell and Donald L. Peters

The political climate of the past ten years has placed accountability at the forefront of priorities in education. Often couched in terms of school improvement, educational reform, or choice, the underlying issue is that of accountability: who is to be held accountable for student learning and what should be the consequences of success or failure. One can see this most clearly in the debates surrounding improving quality in elementary and secondary education, but the field of the early childhood education and care is not immune.

It seems safe to assume that issues of accountability are likely to stay part of the national dialogue for some time to come. Nearly every state has passed some form of accountability legislation and the discussion of state and national testing programs continues. The growth of the charter school and the home schooling movements, the continuing political debate over vouchers, and changes that provide alternative routes to teacher certification are all symptoms of dissatisfaction with the educational status quo.

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While early education and care has not been at the center of the accountability debate, examining how teaching and research in child care and education may be affected makes good sense. It does so because, as part of the larger system, the debate has direct relevance to issues of quality early childhood programming. More importantly, it makes good sense to think through the similarities and differences of issues that exist between early childhood care and education accountability and the more general accountability in the public schools.

The concept of accountability is multifaceted, yet at its core is the belief that someone must be responsible for ensuring quality. Over the last decade there have been a number of studies that have examined the *quality* of care that children receive and how this care impacts *child outcomes*. In this chapter we will review several key areas of the accountability debates as they apply to early education and care. As the reader will quickly note we take a multi-tiered approach to the questions, "Who is accountable?" and, "What consequences should be attached to success and failure." Looking at the answers to the questions at the government, institution, program, teacher, parent and child levels, provides a view of where accountability will drive the study of teachers in early education and care over the next decade.

THE PROGRAM QUALITY/CHILD OUTCOME LINK

There is a more than century long history in the early childhood literature that espouses the importance of quality programming in early education and care. Often the definition of quality was based upon a philosophical, moral or ethical belief system and the connection to desired child outcomes was *assumed* to follow. In other cases theory and research were employed to derive a definition of the components of "quality" programs and empirical linkages to child outcomes, at least in the short run, were sought (Peters, 1993). Over the past decade there have been several studies of the "quality" of care that children receive in typical child care settings and how this care is associated with a range of child outcome variables (Campbell & Ramey, 1995; File & Kontos, 1993; Frede, 1995; Galinsky, O'Donnell, Beyea, & Boose, 1998; Helburn, 1995; Lally, Mangione, Honig, & Wittner, 1988; McCartney et al., 1997; NICHD, 1998,1999; Ramey & Ramey, 1993; Schweinhart & Weikart, 1998). This long history of speculative and empirical literature defines the two critical variables of the accountability equation: Program Quality and Child Outcomes. However, the literature seldom addresses who is responsible for assuring program quality and who is responsible for the child outcomes.

ASSURING PROGRAM QUALITY

The Governmental Role in Assuring Quality

Asserting that quality matters has not lead to the creation of systems that can reliably deliver high quality services. Governments exercise their oversight functions in early childhood education and care through use of laws and regulations which license programs, set personnel standards or certification requirements, and define fiscal incentives or sanctions.

At the federal level, the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (P.L. 105-17) Part C* and its associated regulations sets forth general standards and requirements for the conduct of federally supported early intervention services for children below the age of three. Part B, Section 619 of the same law prescribes required elements of services for children ages 3-5 who have developmental disabilities or delays. The law holds the state's lead agencies responsible for ensuring the services are carried out in accordance with federal law and regulation. However, federal laws and regulations leave a great deal of discretion and interpretation up to the states concerning the licensing of facilities, the credentialing of personnel, and the payment for services. The federal government is even less directive where the use of block grant funds for child care are concerned. By holding the states responsible for implementation and quality determinations, the federal government (and the congress that passed the laws) relieve themselves of direct accountability for the services delivered.

As these responsibilities devolve to the state one could expect a clearer line of accountability. This is not always the case. For example, when one actually examines licensing laws (Gallager, Rooney, & Campbell, 2000; Phillipsen, Burchinal, Howes, & Cryer, 1997; Scarr, Eisneberg, & Deater-Decker 1994; Wilkes, Lambert, & VendeWiele, 1998; Zinzeleta & Little, 1997) one quickly notices a lack of accountability in terms of quality. Licensing regulations serve to ensure minimal acceptable levels of health and safety. They are not designed to hold program accountable for the delivery of high quality services.

Similarly, states may set personnel standards based in licensing procedures for childcare or through their certification requirements for teachers and other professionals. These standards are usually defined in terms of course, credit or degree requirements. Teachers or prospective teachers are held accountable for achieving these educational requirements. They may also be accountable for maintaining their licensure or certification through participating in some, usually minimal, amount of continuing professional development activity. Such requirements are justified based upon research that supports the relationship between early childhood specific teacher education and child care program quality. (Cassidy, Buell, Pugh-Hoese, & Russell, 1996; Helburn, 1995; Howes, 1997; McMullen,

1998; Whitebook, Howes, & Phillips, 1989) However, the state agencies that set such requirements seldom have any oversight or regulatory responsibilities for the institutions of higher education that offer the credits, courses or degrees that allow the teachers to meet their requirements. They are even less likely to have any control over the content of instruction that goes on in a particular course, workshop, or field experience (Peters, 1993). As such, they are not accountable for what teachers know or do. Governmental accountability for *quality* education and care is, at best, difficult to get a handle on.

The Profession's Role in Ensuring Quality

Professional accreditation also is a way of ensuring quality. There are two realms where accreditation plays a role. These are in the accreditation of childcare programs themselves, and in the accreditation of programs that provide teacher education. The differences between accreditation by a professional organization and licensure by a governmental body are important. Accreditation purports to focus on quality indices that go well beyond minimum requirements. As such, the accrediting body presumably accepts responsibility to the field and the public for attesting to the quality of a program and by inference to the child development outcomes that should accrue from participation. However, when examined more closely, this also is not always the case. For example, in both types of program accreditation, accreditation is based, in large part, on the qualification of the people that teach there at the time the accreditation process is completed. However, over time personnel change, yet the program remains accredited. Further, there are very few studies on the efficacy of accreditation for maintaining high quality in childcare programs (Whitebook, Sakai, & Howes, 1997), and even fewer on the link between accreditation and child outcomes. The link becomes even more tenuous between accredited teacher preparation programs, their graduates' quality of childcare program, and the enrolled children's outcomes. Given the policy implication of supporting quality, more research in this area is needed.

Parent's Role in Ensuring Quality

Many teachers and policy makers have asserted that parents should also be held accountable for ensuring that their children are enrolled in quality centers. However the research on accountability is lacking concerning the parent's role. There is no shortage, however, of writings advocating the education of parents into an empowerment role concerning their chil-

dren's early education and care (Powell & Stremmel, 1992). Yet, the emphasis on providing parental education, handy guides and the like, all point to the questionable qualifications of parents to make judgments of program quality. Parent satisfaction surveys have repeatedly indicated that the majority of parents are satisfied with their current child care arrangements (usually 60-75%), yet surveys of quality by professionals using more objective criteria suggest that fewer that 25% of childcare arrangements meet professional standards of quality (Cryer & Burchinal,1997). This would suggest that parents are either judging "quality" on the basis of such criteria as convenience and cost (Leong, 2000), or they have rationalized their chosen care arrangement because they feel they have few options.

Indeed, most importantly, the issue of parents' judgment of quality presupposes that parents have choices. This is certainly not the case for most parents. As has been discussed for decades, the dilemma of childcare and education pits availability, cost and quality against each other. There are few mid-income parents who have the blessing of convenient, affordable (i.e., subsidized), quality childcare.

If choice is not there, neither is accountability.

Children and Accountability

Within most states that have high stakes testing and accountability legislation, students are major players. The assumption is that they (and their parents) are at least partially responsible for learning outcomes. Often this is directly reflected in the consequences. Students may be retained in grade, required to attend summer school or other additional sessions, or they may be denied a high school diploma.

Within early childhood care and education most reasonable adults would agree that the quality of the educational program provided is not within the child's choosing or control. Hence, they cannot be held accountable for either program quality or outcomes. This is increasingly true the younger the child's age or the more severe the child's delays or disabilities.

However, children are sometimes held accountable for their behavior. It is not uncommon to hear stories of children being "kicked out" of programs due to their presentation of challenging behaviors (Umbreit & Blair, 1997). Because there is a lack of resources in the system to help programs meet the challenge of working with children who present behavior problems, children have become accountable for program quality. The system must be changed, so that children, too young to reasonably be held accountable for their actions, are no longer held accountable.

Teachers and Accountability

Within public elementary and secondary education, supervision and support for teachers is provided by and mediated through a series of administrative levels. Larger school districts may provide educational support teams for classroom teachers and their students at the district and school level. Small schools within small systems may provide only a teaching principal who serves as both supervisor and mentor for a few teachers.

Within early education and care such supports may be provided in systems that have extensive federal and state support (e.g., Head Start, or IDEA Part C programs). However, with most public and private childcare and education settings such supervision and support is not available. Ultimately then, within early education and care the accountability buck stops with the particular teacher or care provider.

BARRIERS TO QUALITY TEACHING AND EFFECTIVE TEACHER ACCOUNTABILITY

Early Childhood Teacher Preparation and Professional Development

As suggested earlier, the research in early education and care indicates the links, both theoretical and empirical, among personnel education and training with program quality indicators on the one hand and program quality and, at least some, developmentally positive child outcomes on the other. Whatever the shortcomings of this research (Peters, 1993), it points the direction for ways to improve program quality and child outcomes–more and more effective pre-service and in-service education. The barriers to such a simple solution are many and real.

Splintering Rather Than Unifying Conceptions of Early Childhood Teaching

Despite the established link between training and quality practice there does not seem to be consensus in how to develop the appropriate training and supports. In two recent policies initiatives: Eager to Learn: Educating our Preschoolers (Bowman, Donovan, & Burns, 2000) and Not by Chance (Kagan & Cohen, 1994) involving recommendation for improving the system of early education and care in this county there again has been a call for broader and more rigorous licensure and, in some cases, for teaching certification and minimal degree requirements for those that work with children age 3-5 in ALL early education and care auspices including childcare. Unfortunately, these efforts are neither new nor necessarily helpful since they tend to perpetuate long-term distinctions made between child-

care, pre-school/nursery school, and other types of early childhood intervention programs. Such distinctions have their roots in the genesis of the field and serve only to obscure the commonalities of what constitutes quality programming across settings, funding sources, agency auspices, and nomenclature. These contextual differences and distinctions do affect teacher priorities and the supports available for program improvement and individual teacher professional development. As such they have an effect on how accountability is defined and implemented.

Furthermore, there continues to exist a certain amount of tension around including infant and toddler practitioners in the field of early education and care. The interpretation of the "brain research" has compelled attention to the first three years. Despite the attention of the popular press, this research, in the public policies described above, has received little attention. This reflects the continued ambivalence of the early childhood profession to include programming for infants and toddlers (Belsky, 1988; Fein, 1994). Requiring infant and toddler caregivers to have training and be credentialed gets dangerously close to implying that all parents need some sort of training and credentialing as well. Of course, policy makers have been happy to mandate this in terms of those receiving public assistance—that is, many recipients of TANF are required to take parenting classes because it is assumed that the financially poor inevitably have poor parenting skills. However for middle class America, the notion that someone could tell parents how to raise their children is an anathema. In this view parents are seen not accountable to any authority except in the most egregious cases. If parents are not accountable how can infant and toddler teachers be held accountable?

Finally, there is the sentiment that there are differences in training needs and training content for infant toddler teachers as opposed to those who work with preschoolers and school age. It is questionable whether these differences provide an adequate rationale for not including all teachers from birth to age eight within unified training policies.

Transience of Personnel

Early childhood teachers in most states and localities, and under many auspices, are held accountable for earning a minimum of in-service training hours. Yet, given the turnover rates that often exceed 50% annually in many programs, the teachers trained today may not be there tomorrow. Therefore, most short-term, in-service training efforts in early education and care have proven ineffective in raising and maintaining program quality. More concerted efforts of true professional development, conducted over longer periods of time, have been shown to produce attitude, knowledge and behavior changes that improve program quality (Cassidy et al., 1996). They have also been shown to be effective in increasing retention rates of personnel.

However, very little work has been done to empirically link the training to child outcomes. The correlational research that has been conducted does not meet the standards of quantity or quality used in researching teaching practices in elementary and secondary teaching. More concerted research in normally occurring early childhood settings is needed concerning what factors in training are most effective in creating teacher changes that translate into classroom practices that relate to positive outcomes for young children.

Meanings of Professionalism

The quest to increase professionalism as a means to increase the quality, stability, and prestige of early care and education has a long history (Spodek, Saracho, & Peters, 1988). Most efforts such as the NAEYC professional development framework (Willer & Bredekamp, 1993) are based on educational level. The emphasis on educational attainments and degrees is consistent with the notion that the essence of creating a profession is to secure the links between education and occupation (Larson, 1977; Peters, 1988). Within "true" professions, professional knowledge is controlled and only certain means of gaining the knowledge are considered legitimate. However, this emphasis on pre-service professional education contradicts much of the tradition and reality of early education and care (Azer, 1997). In many ways it is the in-service nature of professional development that makes the field of early education and care unique. This tradition of in-service evolved from the isolation, autonomous nature, and financial marginality of most early childhood programs. But the ecology of early childhood is changing (Peters, 1993) and the emphasis on in-service training is seen as weakening the link between education and occupation. Therefore, recent policy initiatives aimed at increasing quality have given a much greater mandate for pre-service training despite the potential negative exclusionary effects (Peters, 1988).

Of course there are alternatives to this strict pre-service model that do not rely solely on in-service training (Barbour, Peters, & Baptiste, 1995). For example, in recent years there has been a focus on mentoring as a means of professional development. The fact that a mentoring model has not been widely adopted probably comes from the relationship-based nature of mentoring. The effectiveness of a mentor is not something that can be reduced to simple psychometrics nor is it one which is easily applied in smaller more autonomous settings typically found in early education and care. Furthermore, the mentoring model is one that is embraced more by craftspeople and artisans rather than professionals. Although one could argue that all teachers could benefit from having a mentor, mentoring is not the traditional way that the professional knowledge is transmitted and it is even less subject to standardization and accountability.

The lack of a common understanding of the meaning of professionalism or the means for attaining increased levels of it further muddies the accountability waters by leaving uncertain the standards of knowledge and skills against which teachers might be appraised.

The methods national organizations use to accredit teacher education programs also are changing. Currently NCATE is in the process of developing an outcomes-based assessment which includes, among other things, the need to provide evidence of the program engendering change in the teacher candidates as well as evidence that the teacher candidates are affecting the learners they work with. A fairly standard way of doing this is through portfolio development. However this is very little research on the efficacy of portfolio assessment in terms of professional development with early childhood teachers.

Accountability to Whom?

In researching the issue of accountability one needs to examine the question "Who is the teacher accountable to?" It seems that the teacher is accountable to at least three major constituencies: children, parents and their employer. The primary constituency is usually considered to be the children. The research on quality outcomes is full of this and we have included it in our discussions to this point. However, there is a large and growing body of literature on the notions of family-centeredness, parent empowerment and the like. Although not new, some recommended practices date back to the beginnings of the kindergarten movement, there are fewer studies on the effect of teachers on parents and parent functioning and vice versa. The availability of childcare services is seen as supporting families working, but except in intervention programs such as Head Start and Early Head Start, childcare is rarely looked at as a family support more generally (Peters, 1988). Despite the call from many quarters that childcare would make a very natural vehicle for family support services this focus is not there. Should teachers be held accountable for the success or failure of their program in this area? If so, considerably more research is needed to determine what quality means and how effectiveness should be assessed.

Finally the work that teachers do as colleagues has been rarely studied. Getting perceptions of coteachers and employers of teacher performance is not often collected, although it is addressed in the NAEYC code of ethical conduct.

Lack of understanding of how teachers work on teams and with their colleagues is another area in need of study. This area particularly has implications for serving children with special needs in early childhood educa-

tion and care settings. Teachers will need to work well in all these areas in order to provide high quality services.

Accountability for What?

Components of Teaching

The various constituencies teachers are accountable to also demonstrate the various roles that a teacher plays and the changing world in which they play those roles. The focus of these roles will effect how one studies teachers and how one understands the quality of the work they do. Much of what the early childhood teacher does in all levels of their work and with all of their constituencies is affective work; work dealing with emotions and relationships. In terms of accountability this is a much more difficult area in which to collect reliable and valid data. Furthermore, it is often held in less esteem. It does not fit the measurement model or academic achievement model of accountability on which current educational reform is based. Yet it is an area that is central to "quality" and to child and family outcomes in early education and care. Teacher accountability is meaningless if the constructs measured and rewarded are not central to the teaching role. How to conceptualize and measure the work that early childhood teachers do creates a number of methodological issues that researchers must grapple with if they are to successfully conduct research with child care teachers.

Scope of Teaching

That the world of early childhood care and education continues to change with great rapidity is generally well understood. The implications for what those changes mean for the scope of the teachers' responsibilities remains to be seen. Early childhood programs are serving an increasingly diverse clientele. In particular, programs are serving younger children and more children with developmental delays and disabilities. Recent initiatives are likely to ensure that the level of severity of disabilities encountered will increase as well. Understanding diverse patterns of development is becoming as essential as understanding normative patterns of development. Developmentally appropriate practice and individualization have taken on an even broader meaning.

Further, the changing demographic and immigration patterns have continued to introduce a wider array of languages and cultures into early education programs throughout the entire country. A multicultural, multilinguistic perspective of family and community is essential to a family-centered approach to early childhood teaching. This is particularly true for the relationship and emotional side of the teaching role.

Finally, because early childhood programs are decreasingly isolated and autonomous, and because programs are, directly or indirectly, providing a wider range of services to children and families, teachers are becoming an even more important part of a team effort. Interagency coordination and private/public partnerships are more that just buzz words. They reflect real shifts in shared responsibility. Persons working in such settings need communication, problem solving, negotiation and conflict resolution skills. These are becoming essential components of early childhood teaching.

Each of the above represent the expanding scope of knowledge and skills that go into quality early childhood services. They should be part of accountability. They all require additional study. We know very little about how teachers carry out these responsibilities, what training they have received, or what effects they have on the child and family outcomes.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCHING TEACHERS IN CHILD CARE

The current emphasis on accountability may be used as an organizing concept for directing research on teaching in early education and care. The accountability concept directs attention to both: (1) the groups that are accountable for supporting the development of quality teachers, and (2) the constituencies that teachers must be accountable to in terms of providing quality care, service and support. In a research sense, these two dimensions of accountability can be thought of as determining whether the teacher is the dependent or the independent variable in the accountability equation. Thinking in these terms, although it may be a considerable over simplification, nevertheless helps clarify the two different types of needed research.

Teachers as the Dependent Variable

Government Policy as the Independent Variable

Research is needed on how policies at the local, state and federal levels affect the skills and expertise of teachers in early education and care. Some research has explored how regulations and licensing standards affect quality in general sense (Snow, 1996). However, until recently, there has been little effort to assess ways regulation may be used to enhance quality of care (Gallagher et al., 2000). Several states have taken on the challenges of studying quality beyond the dimensions of health and safety typical in licensing requirements (Galinsky, O'Donnell, Beyea, & Boose, 1998). For instance, North Carolina has moved to a graded licensing system. The impact of these

initiatives on teachers and the quality of care that is provided needs to be closely examined. Furthermore, these efforts should include attention to the economic implications of having more in depth ratings of quality. Economic information on the effect of poor quality care relative to the cost of providing high quality care is needed on a national level. Needed are studies of different personnel policy and regulatory alternatives on such variables as staff turnover rates and other work force variables which affect both the economics and the quality of early care and education.

For example, without research to examine potential outcomes on both the women and the quality of care they provide, policies have been implemented that encourage women transitioning from welfare to work to choose child care as an option for employment. From a policy perspective this strategy appears cost effective and is in some sense "killing two birds with one stone"–getting the former welfare recipients to work as child care providers and increasing the pool of child care to support other former welfare recipients in finding care. However, in the long term this strategy may well undermine efforts towards professionalism and quality enhancement.

In addition to potential state-by-state comparisons, cross-national work is important for viewing the connections between teaching personnel policies and program outcomes. Work such as that conducted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on differences in early care and education globally will provide valuable information on new ways to think about considering how to prepare and support teachers and the work they do.

Professional Organizations as the Independent Variable

Understanding the relative costs and benefits of accrediting programs versus licensing teachers would provide a significant contribution towards informing public policy. Such information may be the key to understanding how best to enhance quality in early education and care. While research on the effects of both systems is needed, research that incorporates how they work both separately and in conjunction, would seem to hold the promise of scaling benefits against a broader range of incentives and sanctions.

Research is also needed that examines how accreditation and licensing programs are responsive to the changing needs of the communities they serve. For instance, research is needed that examines how changes in accreditation and licensure actually affect the quantity and quality of teachers available and teachers' ability to serve the children and families in their programs.

Parents as the Independent Variable

Parents are possibly the least studied segment of the early care and education landscape. Research tells us that parents do not rate quality in the same way that professionals do (Scarr, 1999). Parents look for settings that

appear safe and where their children are being cared for in a loving manner. Parents often value educational programs that can demonstrate concrete learning outcomes for their children (Stipeck, Rosenblatt, & DiRocco, 1994). Understanding how parents' goals and how they make decisions is important if we are going to get a clearer understanding of issues ranging from training needs to market forces.

However, parents, teachers and experts often differ on what constitutes appropriate educational programming or desirable child outcomes (Long, 1996; Scarr, 1999). In such cases responsiveness to parents desires or demands may not be always appropriate. Furthermore, research suggests that these parent perceptions can be changed and that in doing so, greater coherence between teacher and parent influences may be attained. When such coherence exists, more enduring positive outcomes are found for children.

Teachers as the Independent Variable

Treating all teachers that work in childcare, as a unified group may not yield very useful results. Just as there are several constituencies that must be considered there are subpopulations of these groups. For instance, a very different set of skills in needed to work with infants and toddlers and their families than is required to work with school age children and their families. As noted, infant and toddler teachers are usually isolated from teachers working with older children, but greater attention to the differences across early childhood teaching populations is called for.

Similarly, within group variance also needs to be acknowledged. For example, a child care program may be judged as adequate in quality by the parents of the children enrolled, yet may fail in a measure of quality that assesses the same center as a site for early intervention (Aytch, Cryer, Bailey, & Selz, 1999). In terms of quality, research has addressed the perceptions of professionals and parents, however there is very little research that addresses what teachers deem as constituting quality. The lack of research investigating what teachers perceive of quality and their beliefs about the barriers to quality is certainly needed since such perceptions and beliefs affect teacher interactions with both children and their parents.

Parents as the Dependent Variables

Along with research on what parents want in programs in general and in teachers in particular there is a great deal of research that needs to address how teachers impact parents. Given the changing ecology of early childhood education and care, the teachers are taking on responsibilities for enculturation of parents as well as children. While sharing expectations of

child growth and development with parents, teachers are also setting expectations for parental behavior and responsibilities. The importance of the interactions between parents and teachers has generally been acknowledged (Kagan & Weissbourd, 1994; Powell, 1989) as has the need for cultural sensitivity (Bowman, 1994; Freeman, 1998, Phillips, 1998). However, the difficulty of observing such interactions and understanding the nuances of the meaning of the communication is extremely difficult even when working with homogeneous samples (Brady, 2001). Getting a grasp of the interplay between and among teachers and parents all of whom represent multiple cultural and ethnic backgrounds represents an extremely complex problem but one well deserving of study.

NOTE BENE

A final note seems warranted. What has been stated in this chapter has been based on following some traditional ways of looking at research on teaching. The assumptions underlying the view presented are those that underlie the national accountability movement. Hence, they make some sense as one analyzes the implications of the accountability movement for future research. However, we need to acknowledge the limitations of this view.

Development is not linear, nor do the variables that effect development do so in a linear way. Unfortunately, much of the research in early education and care in general, and on childcare teachers in particular, continues to rely on a paradigm of linear relationships between predictors and outcome variables (Buell & Cassidy, 2001). Although there are other research paradigms and empirical techniques available that are perhaps more appropriate for addressing the complex nature of the teaching/ learning environment, questions of accountability are essentially political questions that may well need to be answered within the limited framework in which they are asked.

However, one would hope for better questions as well as better answers in the future. Certainly, the kind of work being done in the field of complexity and dynamic systems theory offer new insights into the study of such complex phenomena as early childhood teaching. Perhaps through the application of these new paradigms we might yet come to grasp what accountability really means.

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CHAPTER 6

GENDER AND SCHOOLWORK IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1920

Jackie M. Blount

INTRODUCTION

Gender has played an inescapably powerful role in shaping early childhood education in the United States. Though both women and men contributed vital efforts to establishing kindergartens and other forms of early childhood education in the mid-1800s, the work quickly became identified with women. Many of the women who pioneered teaching young children believed that their gender endowed them with unique attributes for the work, and further, that it was within their exclusive domain (Beecher, 1851; Mann, 1868). Indeed, many exercised authority in teaching young children, carefully studying the ideas of Froebel and other influential theorists, organizing their facilities and curriculum, and otherwise managing the enterprise of shaping the lives of young children—all relatively free from outside intervention.

This legacy continues through the present, as most early childhood educators are women while men still hold few such positions. Over the past

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century and a half, relatively few men have pursued teaching young children. Some simply regard the work as unappealing. Others, though, wish to avoid the stigma of crossing men's traditional gender appropriate bounds. And women's work in our society typically carries the added burdens of poor pay and difficult working conditions. For these reasons, then, men have avoided work defined by and created for women—just as numerous women through the years have not sought administrative positions largely because they are part of a realm constructed by and for men. Gender segregation in schoolwork is a remarkably persistent phenomenon.

Though men generally have been privileged with choice in the matter of early childhood employment, I will argue in this chapter that some men have been actively discouraged from working with young children, much as women frequently have been blocked in their efforts to achieve school administration positions. In some cases, schools have avoided hiring men out of fear they might prey on children sexually. Also, however, employers often regard men who wish to work with children as effeminate or lacking in masculine qualities, which they conflate with homosexuality. In many communities at present, educators can be dismissed for suspected homosexuality—and they have little or no recourse. Essentially, then, men who want to work with children are by definition regarded sometimes as unsuitable for the work. This double bind continues to limit men's presence in the work.

This state of affairs has not been inevitable, however. Rather, it has evolved over time within specific social, economic, and political circumstances. When the 1800s began, men performed virtually all paid teaching and tutoring, most of it with young boys. In spite of this tradition of male schoolmasters, women began sweeping into schoolhouses around the middle of the century, quickly overtaking men in the work. A number of remarkable women such as Elizabeth Peabody, Carolyn Pratt, Patty Hill Smith, Mrs. Carl Shurz, and Susan Blow pioneered methods, curricula, or institutions for educating the young. By 1900 women accounted for over two-thirds of *all* paid teachers with even higher proportions teaching the very young. The trend continued through the 1920s when women claimed five out of six public school positions (*Statistical History*, 1965, p. 208). Around the same span of time, kindergartens emerged and quickly became vital institutions primarily in urban areas around the country. Women typically ran them, viewing their roles as mothers to society (Finkelstein, 1988). Taken together, women came to dominate both kindergartens and schools, especially in the primary grades. However, not only had women chosen the toils of the classroom, but men actively avoided it, eschewing connection with "women's" work. What had so thoroughly altered the landscape of teaching over the course of a century, however?

On the surface, the shift of teaching from men's to women's work simply was demographic. However, far deeper changes in the nature of the work occurred in conjunction with this demographic transformation.

Teaching went from being work that accorded its practitioners some small degree of manliness, to work associated with females. That is, the gendered character of the work changed. Where early teachers ran their own schools, designed the curricula, collected tuition, and enjoyed great autonomy, later ones came to be controlled by a new class of school personnel: administrators. Where early teachers had hoped to earn enough money to support a family, however modestly, the new class of teachers garnered lower wages and, once married, were expected to resign. Where early teachers had studied the liberal arts, later ones usually were permitted only a more limited, practical education including pedagogical studies and just enough subject knowledge to stay ahead of their students. Early in the 1800s, teaching was acceptable work for men, but not women. Conversely, later in the century teaching was acceptable work for women, but not men. The gender-appropriateness of teaching had reversed.

Was there something inherent in the work that caused women to assume it and men to leave? What does it mean that the gender-identification of teaching shifted? Gender is a set of stories that people tell themselves and each other about what it means to be men and women. These stories are as varied as the individuals and the cultures in which they live. Gender is something that individuals negotiate throughout their lives. In spite of this complexity, societies often attempt to create uniform visions of gender, and then to maintain these visions through promotion and sanction, through individual and institutional action, through what we tell each other and ourselves over and over again (Rotundo, 1993).

Gender and sexuality are two different concepts; however they are intimately connected. Gender helps people navigate sexuality within their cultures, assisting them in identifying other classes of persons with whom sexual relations may be a possibility. Like gender, sexuality is not a fixed quality. It, too, is ever-changing and dependent on social contexts. Sexualities have varied substantially through historical epochs as well. Like gender, the rules and norms of sexuality have strong socially constructed components.

An important means that schools have employed to influence the gender identities of students is the selection and hiring of school workers who would provide proper gender models. Schoolwork, then, came to be divided into realms of work done by men—administration and teaching older youth, and that done by women—teaching younger children. By so segregating the work, schools came to resemble the traditional male-head-of-household families whose services they increasingly supplemented. Administrative work, by definition, became what was manly or fitting work for men. Conversely, teaching young children became feminine work fitting for women.

As with gender, school workers also modeled acceptable mainstream sexuality. Women school workers were to be chaste and pure guardians of virtue for their charges (Cordier, 1992; Sklar, 1991). Not surprisingly,

schools hired women teachers who were single. Many schools required women to step down if they married, thus avoiding conflicts in their primary allegiances. On the other hand, schools preferred hiring men who were heads of household in traditional heterosexual marriages. Unmarried men who remained in schoolwork were viewed with suspicion, as lacking in manliness, irresponsible, possessing poor character, or prone to womanizing. The marital expectations of men and women thus were inversely related. By hiring individuals who demonstrated conventional sexuality, schools assured that proper models would surround children.

Interestingly, however, even though schools provided regulation of the gender and sexuality of their workers—and by extension students—they also provided fascinating opportunities for supporting unconventional gender identities and sexualities. For example, by the early twentieth century, so few men taught that many districts hired nearly any man who demonstrated interest or possessed even modest prerequisite skills (Bardeen, 1908; Farr & Liles, 1991). So desperate were schools to have male teachers that they hired men who did not fit conventional notions of masculinity. Women challenged mainstream identities, too. Since many school districts required that women teachers be single, and since women teachers finally were earning enough money to support themselves, large numbers of women for the first time could choose to remain single. They even could decide to live with other women or to center their lives around communities of women without raising suspicion. This represented a radical departure from the tradition requiring middle-class women to build their lives around men, either husbands or male blood relatives.

Initially, the opportunities for unconventional gender identities or sexualities among school workers were not discussed publicly. In time, however, public concern mounted. Some critics, for example, worried that spinster schoolteachers might teach children to scorn marriage. Others contended that effeminate male teachers would bring sexual abnormalities into the schools. In the face of such concerns, schools responded by regulating the gender identities and apparent sexualities of their workers. Schools, then, had become places that nurtured transgressive gender and sexual identities among workers. Just as surely, schools also endeavored to restrict such transgressions.

The strong linkage between the gender and sexuality of teachers, then, has evolved in specific historical circumstances. As such, it is contingent and open to question and further change. In the following sections, I will explore how educating young children has become work that is deeply gender polarized. To do this, I will place early childhood educational work within the larger context of schoolwork. This will better illuminate who has pursued the work and who has not as well as the pushes and pulls on segregation throughout educational employment. It is in this larger context that gender and sexuality patterns can be understood most clearly.

THE GENDER CONTEXTS OF THE 1800s

As the economy of the young American republic developed during the nineteenth century, the structure and functions of families shifted. Early in the 1800s, men typically centered their employment around their homes with women assisting in managing the family enterprise, especially domestic matters. Men represented their families in public matters, speaking up in town meetings and assisting with community governance. They also controlled family capital. Men's status as men hinged largely on the good will they engendered through their family and community responsibilities (Brod, 1987; Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Mangan & Walvin, 1987; and Rotundo, 1993). By mid-century, though, men's work shifted beyond the homestead to other sites such as any number of rapidly growing commercial establishments. Anthony Rotundo has argued that this shift brought new notions of acceptable manhood. Increasingly men gained status through their individual efforts and achievements. Their reputations as men became less dependent on the good names of their families, the efforts of others around them, or their generous service to their communities. Instead, men acquired masculine identity through their individual works and accomplishments. This new notion of self-made manhood required that men have greater independence in their actions and social relationships. At the same time, they needed less oversight by their communities and religious organizations. They came to express more freely their ambition, competitiveness, and aggression in this male culture of individualism. As Rotundo argues, men earned masculine stature not through the restraint of their passions, but rather by how they channeled it, such as through reason. And in the increasingly competitive economy, men's independence became centrally important. Rotundo explains: "Now, a man was expected to be jealous of his autonomy and free from reliance on external authority. In this world where a man was supposed to prove his superiority, the urge for dominance was seen as a virtue" (pp. 3-4). Toughness became a valued attribute and tenderness scorned in men. The appearance of men's bodies came to symbolize this shift as strength and muscular appearance grew increasingly important.

SEPARATE SPHERES IDEOLOGY

As community and religious ties weakened, the regulation of men's passions and competitive independence came increasingly from the home. Women were praised for tempering men's excesses and this regulatory function became an expected part of women's responsibility. At this time, women's roles generally were redefined as separate spheres ideology came

to the fore (Cott, 1977; Kerber, 1991). Within this ideology, women and men each were to have their respective spheres of influence—separate, yet supposedly equal. Men labored in the open economy and represented their families in public matters. Women, on the other hand, were to restrain men's passions and govern matters of the household—especially including the welfare of young children.

An important consequence of these sharply delineated gender roles is that men and women's separate spheres were not just ideological, but they also were physical. Men worked in spaces occupied primarily by other men. Women labored in their homes or they served with other women in socially approved extensions of the home such as community social service organizations, kindergartens, or schools. Separate spheres ideology basically fostered the expansion of homo-social cultures where men worked and socialized with men, and women with women.

Just as gender ideals changed over the 1800s, so too did the range of acceptable sexual expression. Freed from the need to bear children to help with the family business or farm, married partners gradually reduced the sizes of their families. New contraceptive devices and practices spread rapidly through folk wisdom, circulars, and best-selling books. It was common for young married women to receive literature in the mail about contraception. Information about abortions spread, too, though often such procedures either were ineffective or resulted in the death of the woman (D'Emilio & Freedman, 1997, pp. 55-84). Over the years that these ideas and practices circulated, family size in the United States shrank. Essentially, then, sexual activity became less connected with procreation and more with sexual desire.

When men and women chose marriage partners, they increasingly valued romantic love—expecting fully to fall in love with someone before deciding to marry them, rather than marrying someone deemed suitable and then learning to love them. Choosing a partner then became a matter of finding a person about whom one could feel passionate. And sexual expression often was an important component of that passion.

Because of their increased independence, men felt freer to explore different kinds of sexualities. Men were expected to possess strong passions and the need to satisfy them. On the other hand, convention held that women should limit their sexual activities to men they intended to marry. Any sexual indiscretions outside this narrow range might risk a woman's fall in social class. Middle and owning class women, then, had much to lose, but working class and poor women sometimes felt more at ease about pursuing their own sexual passions outside of marriage. Once married, though, women were expected to temper men's free sexual expression, to keep them from giving in to their "baser instincts" (McLaren, 1997).

Not only were women to reign in men's sexual behavior, but they also were expected to teach their children proper sexual mores. Gradually, however, as common schooling spread and the work of educating and

socializing children shifted from the home, schools took on greater portions of the work of teaching the young their proper gender roles and sexual values. A critically important way they did so was through providing appropriate modeling by teachers. The matter of who became teachers—and the working conditions of teachers—said much about acceptable gender identities and sexualities.

TEACHERS BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

Early schoolmasters labored to cultivate respect in their communities, in large part because so many others had sullied the reputation of the work. Images of slovenly, hard-drinking men who enforced harsh discipline captured the imagination of novelists of the time and offered a handy stereotype. Joseph Alva Baer, in his 1928 doctoral dissertation, elaborated: "The common assumption was that anybody could teach school, and all too frequently the schoolmaster was very inadequately prepared for his work." Failures, and even town charges, were given the post of schoolmaster so that they might earn their keep. In the middle states bond-servants were frequently chosen as instructors to the youth, and "in early Georgia the schoolmaster was little better than a vagrant wandering from community to community" (Baer, 1932, pp. 4-5). For many, teaching was temporary work, a stopgap, a way to build a name and a path to a larger professional career, and even to some, youth's work (Morain, 1980, p. 165).

It is little wonder that schoolmasters' reputations often suffered. Who would seek difficult work with wages so meager that basic clothing seemed like a luxury? Making matters worse, few schools recruited, screened, or hired teachers in a systematic way. Rarely was there adequate assurance that schoolmasters had prepared in a manner fitting them for service. Regardless of these significant problems, schoolmasters still held modestly esteemed social positions, second only to ministers (Baer, 1932). In spite of the shortcomings of some, communities still accorded educated men some respect (Baer, 1932).

Schoolmasters, then, accounted for most of the teaching force before the Civil War, a time when few children received instruction beyond early primary levels. Teaching required some degree of formal education, and to that point, most women were denied the opportunity for that study. Those educated men who chose to teach typically did so as a means of supporting themselves after they completed their studies in a European or New England college, but before moving fully into their desired professions such as the ministry or law. Teaching also offered young men an opportunity to anchor themselves in a community and to provide a valuable service while building a respectable reputation.

Schoolmasters faced contradictions in the gender appropriateness of their work. Although they were somewhat respected in their communities, they also were regarded as effete. Learned individuals, particularly those who had studied in Europe, those from aristocratic stock, and those who cultivated a sense of refinement, seemed largely out of place in the rough young nation (Kimmel, 1996). Though academic achievement might have enhanced one's social standing, manly men possessed practical, not necessarily scholarly knowledge. And even though school teaching required a wide variety of independent, entrepreneurial skills such as recruiting students, collecting fees, maintaining a schoolhouse, managing materials, and planning instruction, to many working with children seemed more fitting for women. This was especially true as separate spheres ideology took root, reserving for women such domestic functions as rearing children. Even though few women formally taught outside the home before the Civil War and men did most of the teaching, still the work was not regarded as entirely manly (Eggleston, 1871; Skinner, 1892, 1894).

By the mid 1800s, however, women had begun to access the newly established women's academies and seminaries that had emerged in New England, and they were eager to use their diplomas in pursuit of careers. At the same time, common schooling created a great need for educated teachers—a need far exceeding what could be satisfied with the available supply of college educated men. Massachusetts Secretary of Education Horace Mann, Catharine Beecher, the influential advocate of women's education, and others strenuously argued that women should be encouraged to seek jobs outside the home and to become common school teachers. At first only a few local schools hired women, but then after seeing how determined and well prepared these pioneering women were, schools around the country quickly followed suit, hiring women, and then expressly seeking them out. Better teachers could not be had for the school-tax dollar, most reasoned. And besides, many women simply wanted to teach.

Not everyone was pleased to see young women leave the home to earn a salary. Before the opportunity to teach opened for women, only working class and poor women worked outside their homes, typically as domestic servants. Middle and owning class women supervised their households while men pursued interests in the public sphere. If such women failed to follow this path, their status dropped. Salaried work, then, was principally part of the male domain. Legal ideology of the time supported this division of labor. Males were the property owners. Any wealth possessed by women automatically was to be controlled by male family members.

Women who taught in schools and earned wages presented a formidable problem for the time. With their meager salaries, they potentially could possess property, that is, unless they were married or lived with male family members—who then were legally responsible for controlling the wealth. In the spirit of Lockean democratic process, anyone who owned property

should get to vote, thus allowing them some control over the taxes they paid. Without male family members, women property-owners would have posed a serious challenge to the economic and political order, not to mention the social order.

And besides, if married women were to venture into salaried employment, they would have had to submit to the authority of their superiors. However, in the home, women already were to submit to male family members. Theoretically, then, working married women would have had to obey the wishes of two authorities: their employers and their male heads-of-household. Such a conflict was thought untenable. Catharine Beecher offered a clever way to resolve this tricky problem, however. Beecher, herself a single woman, strongly recommended that single, rather than married women should teach. The conflict of authority thus could be avoided since single women owed allegiance only to their working superiors. Beecher further convinced skeptics when she argued that single women who taught could use their duties to prepare for marriage and motherhood. Their preparation and experience therefore would not be wasted. When women married, they could step down and devote their teaching and maternal skills to their own children. They would be replaced in the schoolroom by other eligible single women. There would be plenty waiting to do so.

Though some communities decided to give women teachers a chance, others worried that the demands of the job were too great for them. One superintendent argued, "While I believe that women when they possess the scholarship and the necessary training can instruct as well as men, I doubt whether they can properly govern school or exert the proper educational influence over large boys and girls. We can not close our eyes to this condition of things. There are certain things which women, because of their sex, can not do and should not be made to do. I, for one, have always considered it cruel to place an innocent girl all by herself in a country school there to watch over the large boys" (Raab, 1891, p. 1058). Adolescent males were thought to be more powerful and aggressive even than fully-grown women, certainly not to be controlled by women. In their work with young children, though, women received warm and near-universal support from their communities. Their supposedly natural nurturing qualities were thought ideal for the work (Mann, 1868).

Though concern about women's abilities to control older male children persisted, women teachers quickly proved to be more than a match for such problems. Typically they used persuasion and other nonviolent means of maintaining discipline. Experts even conceded that women generally seemed to have as good if not better results with their disciplinary practices than many men who resorted to corporal punishment and intimidation. Word spread quickly about the ability of women to govern their classrooms. Within a few years, even the most hardened critics of women teachers had to concede that the experiment was succeeding.

In short order, women filled the ranks of teachers. They found ways to keep order, impart their newly won academic skills, and otherwise run their schools. Having cleared these significant hurdles, however, single women teachers faced another problem. Some feared that they might become too independent, and otherwise acquire traits deemed more desirable for men. This risk was averted quickly, though, as schools added supervisory positions—men who would ride a circuit of schoolhouses, repairing facilities when needed, and making sure teachers performed their duties as expected. These early superintendents usually possessed little pedagogical skill themselves, but what they consistently brought to their work was the fact that they were men. As such, they served as authority figures to whom women teachers answered. Thus a crisis triggered by women teachers seemingly overstepping their gender-appropriate bounds was averted.

TEACHERS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

By the mid-1800s, women teachers began filling schoolhouses in significant numbers. Then after the Civil War they quickly came to dominate the work. A broad array of teacher seminaries and normal schools flourished, offering women formal education beyond the primary level and providing them with a route to a career. For the vast majority of women, school teaching offered a respectable means of earning a salary outside the home, an opportunity that many eagerly pursued. Some women saw teaching as a way to avoid depending on their families or of risking unacceptable marriages (Payne, 1892). Women who desired formal advanced education believed that teaching gave them an added purpose for their studies. And some young women wanted to teach so they could emulate the remarkable, much admired, and even beloved women who had taught them.

In relatively short order, schools around the country hired women almost to the exclusion of men, especially for working with young children. Once women proved not only that they could handle the work, but also in fact performed it quite well, there was little to discourage districts from recruiting them. The most powerful reason of all for hiring women was that they were substantially cheaper than men, commanding a half or a third of men's wages. With the rise of graded schools in urban areas, the trend toward hiring women accelerated further. By conventional reasoning, a single male principal of a primary school could oversee a multiple-classroom building filled with women teachers who received relatively low wages. He might teach a class of older youth while women taught young children. This arrangement kept salary costs low and satisfied critics who believed that schools needed a man's presence and women needed supervision ("Women Teachers," 1928, pp. 50-51).

Women's eventual dominance of school teaching, however, was not caused just by their rushing into the work, but also by men choosing to leave it. After the Civil War, the national economy slumped making it difficult for schools to pay the salaries that schoolmasters commanded. Young men eschewed pitiful teaching wages, opting instead to seek their fortunes in work offering greater economic rewards, autonomy, and prestige. Making matters more complicated, teaching had come to require more preparation and certification. Men generally found that teaching wages did not adequately compensate for the added costs of training. And as the work had come to be configured, teachers were subjected to ever-increasing supervision by a class of administrators who not only demanded obedience, but also stripped teachers of their independence and decision-making power in schools. Many young men reasoned that such work simply was not fitting for a man. Besides, as women became the majority of schoolteachers, the men who remained found themselves surrounded by few other men (Albisetti, 1993; Blount, 1998; Cleveland, 1905; Mattingly, 1981; Pederson, 1973; Schindler, 1894, p. 357; Sedlak & Schlossman, 1986; Statistical History, 1965, p. 208; Strober & Lanford, 1986; Strober & Tyack, 1980). Since men tended to confer a sense of masculinity on each other in ways that women could not, there was little for a man concerned about his masculinity to do but leave the work (Kimmel, 1996, pp. 1-10).

Those men who chose to remain in the classroom found their independence eroding. Women were supposed to be supervised closely, told how to behave, and remain quiet. Men did not believe they should be treated in such a patronizing manner. As women's presence in schools increased, so did the level of close supervision. In frustration, C.W. Bardeen, a former schoolmaster, wrote that teaching had become "a hireling occupation" and that teachers "are in a state of dependency." He contrasted teaching with the practice of law, medicine, and business where men "are their own masters" (Bardeen, 1908). Male teachers believed that their close professional association with women and the loss of their independence effectively robbed them of their masculinity.

Kindergartens, however, proved to be an exception to this general pattern. Through much of the late 1800s, kindergarten teachers maintained some degree of autonomy. Kindergartens typically were located in churches, basements of community buildings, and sometimes in schools. Teachers largely controlled the terms of their programs including admission, curriculum, budget, hiring, and other matters. The women who ran them operated independently of male administration or supervision. Barbara Beatty explains that "kindergarten departments remained one of the last strongholds of female power within school systems." On the other hand, she also argues that "the price of this relative autonomy" was marginality. Kindergartners [teachers], left more or less alone to develop and implement their own pedagogy, were ignored and undervalued. Though principals tended not to interfere with kindergarten teachers' work, this

may have been more because male school administrators felt uncomfortable in the feminine atmosphere of the kindergarten "than because they understood or respected the purposes or value of kindergartning" (Beatty, 1989, p. 90).

In sum, as women entered teaching in ever-larger percentages, school administrators and board members gradually adjusted the work requirements to align more closely with expectations for women. Arguably, however, expectations for women ran counter to those for men. Where women were expected to demure to the increasing authority of administrators, men expected to be granted independence, respect, and the freedom to carry out their responsibilities as they alone saw fit. This situation led Bardeen to explain, "teaching usually belittles a man.... His daily dealing is with petty things, of interest only to his children and a few women assistants, and under regulations laid down by outside authority, so that large questions seldom come to him for consideration" (p. 351). Undoubtedly, as teaching became female associated, men found that it violated their expectations of work befitting men.

By the early 1900s, a shortage of male teachers hit the headlines. New York principals and male teachers worried that if only women taught boys, they would become effeminate. Others contended that women teachers did not provide rigorous academic preparation for their students. Because of such criticisms, a groundswell of support quickly built for recruiting more men into schoolwork. However, since by this time men typically found teaching repugnant, strategies had to be considered carefully. Paying men more seemed like a sensible solution, but most school systems could hardly afford to pay wages that would attract men. A more effective strategy involved the creation of male-exclusive niches within schoolwork such as teaching older children, administration, and coaching (Male Teachers, 1908).

Of all the newly emerging male niches in schoolwork, though, administration held the greatest appeal to men because it had been structured from the beginning to align with traditional social expectations for men. Originally, administrative and supervisory positions had appeared just as women began teaching in appreciable numbers. Early superintendents had performed chores in the schools that closely resembled those that men typically completed in their households (Adams, 1880, p. 65). Administrative salaries exceeded those for teachers, which allowed men to support families, an important manly duty. The work allowed administrators independence and autonomy in planning and executing their responsibilities. And administrators enjoyed control over the work of others. One writer praised the superintendency because "the kinds of men chosen for these places are those who are least subject to... defects.... But the rank and file of men teachers are still seriously deficient" (Bardeen, 1908, p. 358).

By the first decade of the twentieth century, superintendencies, especially those of urban school districts, had become executive positions to which male educators increasingly aspired. Superintendents typically possessed growing power and authority as school boards ceded greater portions of the work of running schools to them. School district sizes increased, and along with them the tax bases from which superintendent salaries could be drawn. Higher salaries meant a great deal in a time when economic attainment accentuated one's manliness. Thickening layers of administrators insulated superintendents from the immediacies of school life, thus allowing them to direct others who in turn carried out their wishes.

Finally, school superintendents increasingly served in central offices located away from schools, but close to the center of local business and municipal affairs. This arrangement allowed school superintendents to socialize more easily with powerful male members of the community. It also widened the physical distance between superintendents and teachers, most of whom were female. School district administration, then, increasingly became a separate male sphere in the literal sense—it existed in a different physical location from classrooms filled with young children—where women presided.

Gender and Sexuality

Most schoolwork from the mid to late 1800s involved either teaching or supervision. Once women entered school teaching, it quickly became feminized both demographically and functionally. Men who valued their independence, their economic viability, and their professional connection with other men moved on. Those who remained helped to shape administrative work into a manlier domain. In alignment with separate spheres ideology of the time, male administrators publicly represented the affairs of schools to their communities. Women stayed in the surrogate home, that is, the kindergarten or schoolhouse, and looked after domestic affairs, including rearing children. This completely familiar structuring of work by gender raised few eyebrows. Otherwise, it is unlikely that schools could have collected sufficient funding to stay open. Tax-paying voters, mostly men, thus were assured that this new public institution would not destroy the prevailing gender order of the time.

In spite of this seeming normality, though, schools sometimes fostered classes of individuals who assumed nontraditional gender and sexual identities. Although men generally were not attracted to teaching young children as it came to be known as women's work, school officials labored to find and hire men. They especially wanted masculine, seemingly heterosexual men, but most districts would not pay the wages such men customar-

ily demanded to support traditional families. As a result, districts hired young, unmarried men, including some who did not wish to marry. When districts hired women, they chose single women. By the early decades of the twentieth century, most districts in the country refused to employ married women. Though some women taught to support themselves temporarily until they could find suitable marriage partners, many other women saw teaching as a way to live independently of their families, to avoid marriage by default, and in a number of cases, to choose to live with other women, or to enjoy celibacy.

CONCLUSION

Teaching young children, then, has not always been "women's work." Aside from women who taught neighboring children in their homes in the early 1800s, men used to teach young boys, and then eventually girls, basic academic skills. As the economic and social contexts of the nineteenth century changed, however, communities found it expedient to hire women for the work. In turn, women, eager to carve out a respectable place in the public realm, engaged in teaching young children with great passion and purpose. As this hiring pattern solidified around the country, the work became redefined as gender-appropriate for women, rather than men. So complete would this shift be that by the early twentieth century, men who wished to teach young children were, by definition, unfit for the work because of suspected effeminacy (Blount, 1998; Waller, 1932).

By the mid-1900s, however, matters would grow worse for men who wished to teach young children. Two trends converged. First, men increasingly were viewed as needing women and other social forces to regulate their sexual passions. Second, a growing body of literature on the psychology and physiology of sexuality emerged, spurring a public awareness of men's sexual behavior. One particularly scary focus of this attention was the new class of so-called sexual deviants or psychopaths. This attention was evident in the rapid increase in newspaper coverage of such cases during the 1930s and 1940s (Freedman, 1987). One important consequence of this shift in public concern was that not only might men who wanted to teach young children be viewed as lacking manly qualities, but they also might be suspected of being sexually dangerous. To this day, a remnant of this perception conspires to keep men away from teaching young children. This is a matter that deserves much more research attention.

Essentially, then, a tradition of gender-segregation has made teaching young children women's work even while men have dominated school administration and the instruction of older youth. This tradition has not always existed as it does currently, but instead has evolved in specific historical circumstances. Notions of acceptable sexuality have worked hand-in-

hand with those for gender, reinforcing and shaping the work in important ways that tend to escape critical analysis. These notions are quite powerful, however, and have kept rigid patterns of gender segregation in schoolwork in place comfortably into the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER 7

BELIEFS OF EARLY CHILDHOOD TEACHERS

Johanna Einarsdottir

INTRODUCTION

Two paradigms in research on teaching have been identified. The first, which assesses teaching effectiveness, is called "the process-product approach" (Shulman, 1986, p. 9). The process-product approach was developed in the United States in the early 1950s in the field of psychology. In this approach, "process" refers to the visible and audible behavior of students and teachers, and "product" refers to the results of teaching. Process-product studies have explored effective teaching by studying teacher behavior and student achievement; thus, a specific process is correlated with specific products. In this framework, the good teacher is one whose students achieve the highest scores on tests of knowledge and skill. The research program is dedicated to describing the teaching skills and behaviors that reliably distinguish between the most effective teachers and their less effective counterparts (Clark, 1995; Shulman, 1986).

The second paradigm of research, "classroom ecology studies," draws from anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. The main characteristics of ecological research are:

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a. attention to the interaction between persons and their environment:
b. treating teaching and learning as continuously interactive processes rather than isolating a few factors in the system and labeling them as cause and effect;
c. seeing the classroom context as nested within other contexts–the school, the community, the family, the culture–all of which influence what can be observed in the classroom itself; and
d. treating unobservable processes, such as thoughts, attitudes, feelings, or perceptions of the participants, as important sources of data.

While process-product researchers view classrooms as reducible to single events and behaviors that can be noted, counted, and gathered in order to generalize across settings and individuals, the classroom ecology scholars view classrooms as socially and culturally organized environments (Shulman, 1986).

Clark (1995) divided the ecology paradigm into two approaches: the teacher thinking approach, and the teacher knowledge approach. The most recent research on teacher knowledge has focused on understanding the knowledge held by teachers and the ways in which teachers transform that knowledge in their classrooms. Research on teacher thinking focuses mainly on the mental lives of teachers such as the planning, decision making, beliefs, and theories that invisibly guide and influence teacher action. Researchers try to describe and understand the rationale underlying good teaching. These researchers have shown that thinking plays an important part in teaching and that teachers have theories and belief systems that influence their perceptions, plans, and actions.

Teachers' thought processes have been categorized as: (a) planning, (b) thoughts and decisions, and (c) theories and beliefs (Clark & Peterson, 1986). This chapter focuses on the last category, teachers' beliefs, with the following goals:

1. To increase readers' understanding of what affects teachers' beliefs,
2. To survey research methods used in the field of teachers' beliefs and practices,
3. To increase readers' knowledge of cultural differences in beliefs about early childhood education,
4. To explore inconsistencies between teachers' beliefs and their classroom practices, and
5. To provide direction for future research on teachers' beliefs.

The chapter starts by examining the use of relevant concepts. Attention is then given to the elements that affect teachers' beliefs and practices. It next describes the research methods used in the field. Research regarding the differences (cultural and others) in beliefs about child development and inconsistencies between beliefs and behaviors is then reviewed. The

chapter concludes by exploring future steps for research in the field of teachers' beliefs and practices.

RELEVANT CONCEPTS

Beliefs

Price (1969) defines beliefs as what an individual holds to be true and claims that a person can believe a proposition without realizing it, and that there are unconscious or repressed beliefs. Rokeach (1976) divided beliefs into descriptive or existential beliefs, evaluative beliefs, and prescriptive beliefs. He distinguishes between beliefs and ideology saying that a belief system is broader, containing pre-ideological as well as ideological beliefs.

Some confusion and diversity in terminology can be noted when the terms beliefs and knowledge are concerned. Common to most definitions is that beliefs are based on evaluation but knowledge on objective facts and that beliefs make up an important part of teachers' general knowledge. Lewis (1990) argued that the origin of all knowledge is rooted in beliefs and that ways of knowing are basically ways of choosing values. Along the same lines, Pajares (1992) noted that the affective, evaluative, and episodic nature of beliefs make them a filter through which new phenomena are interpreted. Siegel (1985) claimed that beliefs are constructed from individual experience, and are held as absolute or probabilistic truth. They may incorporate knowledge of what and knowledge of how, but are not necessarily based on evidential knowledge. In other words, believes are considered truth even though evidence for their veracity may not exist.

Teachers Beliefs

The literature reaches no consensus on the definition of teachers' beliefs and various concepts are used. The term "teachers' beliefs" is not used consistently. Some researchers referring instead to teachers' thoughts, values, implicit theories, explicit theories, operational theories, metaphors, educational principles, images, ideologies, principles of practice, practical knowledge and personal theories.

Researchers have also used the concept of belief in different ways. Pajares (1992) referred to teachers' beliefs as "a messy construct" (p. 307) saying that the difficulty in studying teachers' beliefs has been caused by definitional problems, poor conceptualizations, and differing understandings of beliefs and belief structures.

Conventionally, teachers' beliefs are defined broadly as tacit, often unconsciously held attitudes teachers have about education, about school-

ing, teaching, learning, students, classrooms, and the academic material to be taught (Kagan, 1992; Pajares, 1992). Pajares (1992) claims this definition to be inadequate because teachers have beliefs about matters beyond their profession. He suggests that educational beliefs must be understood in terms of their connections not only to each other but also to other, more central beliefs.

FACTORS AFFECTING TEACHERS' BELIEFS

Researchers do not have direct information about how beliefs come into being or how they are strengthened or weakened (Nespor, 1987; Kagan, 1992). However, several structures have been proposed for categorizing the factors that affect teachers' beliefs. Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ideas on the interaction between individuals and their environment can be useful in understanding the evolution of the beliefs held by teachers. Bronfenbrenner used the term microsystem for the person's immediate setting, and the mesosystem results from interactions among a group of microsystems that contain one individual. An exosystem is in extension of the mesosystem, including other specific social structures, formal and informal. Finally, the macrosystem refers to the overarching economic, social, educational, legal, political, and religious values of a society. These different systems shape teachers' beliefs.

Van Fleet (1979) builds on Herskovits' (1963) emphasis on the role of cultural transmission in teaching and suggests that teachers acquire knowledge and beliefs about teaching through the three processes of enculturation, education, and schooling. *Enculturation* involves the incidental learning process individuals undergo throughout their lives. The wide variety of teachers a person had during his/her life thus affects that person's beliefs about teaching and learning. *Education* is purposeful learning, either formal or informal, that has the goal of bringing behavior in line with cultural requirements. This includes any directed experiences that aim to bring teacher behavior in line with specific requirements sanctioned by the school culture. *Schooling* is the process of teaching and learning that takes place outside the home.

Enculturation

Studies have revealed that teachers' upbringing and experiences can be influential in shaping beliefs and practices (Ayers, 1989; Clandinin, 1986; Hsieh, 1994; Stuart, 2000). Like Van Vleet, Bruner (1986) has proposed that individuals understand events in their lives only within the contexts of cultural systems. Bruner (1986, 1996) argued that cultures have a folk psy-

chology that dictates the underlying beliefs about human tendencies and about how minds work. Bruner and Olson (1996) discussed the relationship between folk psychology and folk pedagogy, finding that teachers' folk pedagogy reflects their folk psychology. To change practices, educational professionals have to compete with, replace, or otherwise modify the folk pedagogies that guide both teachers and students.

Researchers have also found that differing cultural beliefs about child rearing and interpersonal relationships affect teacher's beliefs (Shweder, Goodnow, Jatano, LeVine, Markus, & Miller, 1998). Spodek and Saracho (1996) have pointed out that, as early childhood programs have developed around the world, teachers have adapted and modified both theory and practice to make it consistent with their own cultures. Studies have found that teachers' beliefs and actions have roots in the values and beliefs of the larger culture.

School Culture

The literature suggests that the social context of the school can affect the beliefs and practices of teachers. Studies have found that the beliefs held by individual teachers were related to beliefs held by others in the same environment pointing to an interrelationship between teachers' beliefs and school culture and social climate (Einarsdottir, 2000; Smith & Shepard, 1988; Pugach, 1992).

Sergiovanni (1994) defined school as a community in which common will, shared ideas, and shared ideals bound individuals together. Deal and Kennedy (1983) defined school culture as "the way we do things around here" or "what keeps the herd moving roughly west" (p. 14). It is the shared values and beliefs as well as the rituals and ceremonies that are respected in the school. Norris (1994) explained that the characteristics of a social group–including beliefs, values, and accepted practices–define school culture. He found that because a culture defines what is possible and not possible, people within that culture tend to have similar viewpoints. Similarly, Stolp and Smith (1995) claimed that individuals take traditions, values, and beliefs with them wherever they go. Once they get where they are going, however, climate surrounds them. Climate includes the shared perceptions, feelings, and impressions that are derived from an organization's structure, setting, and social interactions.

Schooling

Beliefs of pre-service candidates are well established when students get to college. It is likely that these beliefs have been shaped through the effects of enculturation, folk psychology, and folk pedagogy (Van Fleet,

1979; Bruner & Olson, 1996). Pajeres (1992) pointed out that the earlier a belief is incorporated into an individual's belief structure, the more difficult it is to alter. Individuals tend to retain beliefs based on incorrect or incomplete knowledge, even after scientifically correct explanations are presented to them. Kagan (1992) had similar findings. She reported that students enter college with beliefs about teaching and learning that do not change easily during their studies.

There is some evidence to contest the notion that ideas gained early in life cannot be altered by schooling. One author concluded that investigators have found that training influences teachers' beliefs (Dunkin, 1996). Additionally, studies on developmentally appropriate practices in early childhood education have revealed that the teacher's educational background matters. McMullen (1999), for instance, found that teachers with backgrounds in early childhood education or child development were more likely than those who with degrees in elementary education to use developmentally appropriate practices in their actual classroom practices and there was more consistency between their beliefs and practices. Similarly, Snider and Fu (1990) and Buchanan et al. (1998) found that teachers who had academic training in early childhood were more likely to report using developmentally appropriate activities than teachers with other academic degrees.

RESEARCH METHODS

Because much of what teachers believe about their work is tacit and they do not always possess language with which to describe their beliefs, it can be difficult to discover their beliefs. Direct questions such as: "What is your philosophy of teaching?" are usually ineffective ways to discover beliefs (Kagan, 1992, p. 65).

To address this problem, researchers have developed various methods for uncovering teachers' beliefs. Shavelson, Webb, and Burstein's chapter on measurement of teaching in the *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (1986) lists, for example, policy capturing, lens modeling, process tracing as well as case studies and ethnographic methods as measurements of teachers' cognitive processes. Fang (1996) classified the methods into: policy capturing, repertory grid technique and process tracing methods.

Policy capturing uses simulated cases or vignettes involving students, curriculum materials, or teaching episodes to study teachers' judgment processes. Researchers record teachers' judgments on a Likert-type scale and transform them into linear regression equations. Something like an average policy of the teacher is obtained (Fang, 1996; Shavelson et al., 1986).

In the *Repertory grid technique,* researchers present teacher with a series of statements or scenarios. They then indicate which statements or scenarios

best characterize their beliefs and give rationales for each statement. The investigator labels the resulting groupings as constructs, displayed in a grid, and determines relationships among constructs (Fang, 1996; Munby, 1982, 1984).

Process tracing describes a variety of verbal report methods in which teachers are asked to make judgments about educational issues. Investigators most commonly will ask the teacher to think aloud while performing a task, but sometimes oral or written recall of a past task is used. In another procedure, concept mapping, researchers ask teachers to draw a map to illustrate particular pedagogical terms. Even the language teachers use to describe their thoughts and actions has been analyzed (Fang, 1996; Shavelson et al., 1986).

Interpretive participant observational fieldwork research is recommended by Erickson (1986) when studying teachers. This approach generates subjective meaning by examining the relation between actors and their environments during intensive, long-term participation in a field setting. The researcher carefully records events, reflects on the documentary record, and reports by means of detailed description.

Studies on the beliefs of early childhood teachers have used the above-mentioned methodologies in various ways and combinations. Here a few examples will be mentioned.

Questionnaires

Researchers have used various types of questionnaires to elicit the beliefs of early childhood teachers. Questionnaires consisting of Likert-type rating scales are a common instrument. Topics of study explored using these rating scales include the relationship between belief systems of kindergarten teachers' and their principals (Spidell-Rusher, McGrevin, & Labiotte, 1992), the level of endorsement of developmentally appropriate vs. traditional practices in the primary grades (Smith, 1993, 1997), and developmentally appropriate practices for kindergarten teachers (Charlesworth, Hart, Burts, & Hermandez, 1991; Charlesworth, Hart, Burts, Mosley, & Fleege, 1993). Recently, Buchanan, Burts, Bidner, White, and Charlesworth (1998) modified this survey of kindergarten teachers' appropriate practices to address the beliefs and classroom practices of first, second, and third grade teachers.

Marcon (1999) developed the Pre-K Survey of Beliefs and Practices to study different preschool models. The scale measures beliefs concerning developmental goals, how children learn, autonomy given to the child, the teacher's role, and the possibility of learning from peers.

Lin, Gorrell, and Silvern (1999), on the other hand, used open-ended questions to examine pre-service teachers' perceptions of their roles as

teachers and of ways that children learn. The instrument was created by Gorrell, Hazareesingh, Carlson, and Stenmalm-Sjoblom (1995) and has been used in studies of teacher beliefs in Brazil, Korea, Russia, Sweden, and the United States (Lin, Gorrell, & Silvern, 1999).

Observational Instruments

Researchers use various observational instruments to discover the beliefs and practices of early childhood educators. For example, Hyson, Hirsh-Pasek, and Rescorla (1990) based The Classroom Practices Inventory on the NAEYC Guidelines for Developmentally Appropriate Practices in order to uncover the curricular emphasis and emotional climate of programs for 4-5 year-old children.

Observational instruments have frequently been used jointly with questionnaires. For instance, Verma and Peters (1975) used a self-administered Likert-type teacher belief rating scale they called the Teacher Practices Observation Form to assess the beliefs and behavior of early childhood teachers in relation to Piagetian cognitive developmental and operant learning theory. Kagan and Smith (1988) used this rating scale along with observations made by an outsider to study the relationships between beliefs and behaviors of kindergarten teachers.

Stipek and Byler (1997) developed an observation measure to discover the relationship among teachers' beliefs about appropriate practices and their actual practices. Teachers in the study completed a questionnaire containing a Likert-type basic skills orientation beliefs scale, a child centered orientation beliefs scale, and open-ended questions. Likewise, McMullen (1999) used a questionnaire and an observation scale to examine factors involved in developmentally appropriate practices and beliefs.

Qualitative Methodology.

In recent years investigators have used qualitative studies using participant observations, intensive interviews, and document analysis to uncover the beliefs of early childhood educators. By attending to the uniqueness of an individual within a particular environment, researchers record data and gain access to the multiple perspectives of the participants.

Hsieh (1994) used qualitative interpretive methods to investigate the way teachers constructed meaning. Hsieh collected data through participant observations, interviews, videotaping, and document analysis. Einarsdottir (2000) spent 16 months studying the beliefs and practices of two Icelandic preschool teachers using qualitative methodology, and Yone-

mura (1986) used the methodology to study one teacher and then presented the results through the eyes of the teacher, a student teacher and herself. Similarly, Goldstein (1997) studied one early childhood teacher in order to find more out about the experience of providing developmentally appropriate early childhood education in an elementary setting. Ayers (1989) followed qualitative interpretive methods to study early childhood teachers and asked the participants to help identify patterns and develop a narrative text to link the factors contributing to the creation of the teacher. Hatch and Freeman (1988) studied general philosophies and practices of those involved in early childhood education, and Smith and Shepard (1988) addressed the practice of retention using this methodology. Nespor (1987) and Cassidy and Lawrence (2000) also used qualitative interpretive methods to uncover teachers' beliefs about factors influencing their classroom activities.

VARIATIONS IN BELIEFS AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AMONG BELIEFS

Because early childhood education is a diverse field that studies children whose ages range from birth to eight years, it has been difficult to identify a common core of educational beliefs among early childhood teachers. Researchers in the field of early childhood studies typically describe teachers' pedagogical beliefs and practices as falling somewhere along a continuum from child-centered or child-initiated exploration and discovery at one end and teacher-directed or teacher-initiated experiences at the other end (Buchanan et al., 1998; Marcon, 1999; Nelson, 2000; Stipek, 1991; Vartuli, 1999). Jones and Prescott (1984) observed that one extreme assumes that truth is known, that adults know what children need to learn, and that the teacher's educational task is to help children learn skills within an adult-established structure. The second extreme assumes that truth is emergent and adults do not know everything children need to learn. The educational task is to help children learn to play and work effectively, by exploring a wide variety of things with confidence and solving self-selected problems.

Other authors have classified differences in teachers' beliefs according to curriculum streams. Kohlberg and Mayer (1972) identified three streams of educational ideology. The cultural transmission ideology focuses on the transmission of information, rules, and values of one generation to the next. The romantic ideology focuses on the interests and natural development of children. Development is viewed as maturation and education as the unfolding of inner virtues and abilities. The progressive ideology focuses on children's development through interaction with their

environment. Education should help children develop through structured natural interactions with the physical and social environments.

Researchers have observed these types of differences in other cultures. Holloway's (2000) grouping of Japanese preschools according to their directors' beliefs pertaining to the basic nature of the child and to the relation of the self to others is congruent with Kohlberg and Mayers' (1972) classification. Similarly, Kihlström (1995) found in her study on Swedish preschool teachers that the preschool teachers understood the content of their work in several ways, and they adopted three different types of approaches: The first focuses on looking after the children and making sure that they are happy at school. The second focuses on developing the child's personal abilities including psychological, social, and motor aspects. In the third approach the teacher focuses upon the activity of teaching and the content of the lessons.

The following sections explore the beliefs of preschool teachers and results from a selection of studies on preschool teachers beliefs, mainly in the United States, Scandinavia and Japan will be presented. Special emphasis will be placed on beliefs about children's needs for:

1. play and freedom of choice,
2. happiness,
3. necessary social skills, and
4. self reliance.

Play and Freedom of Choice

Studies on early childhood teachers in different countries have shown that although preschool teachers view play as an important part of children's development and learning, views about the importance of play and adults' role in play vary according to teachers' cultures, beliefs, and ideologies.

In their study *Preschools in three cultures: Japan, the U.S. and China*, Tobin, Wu and Davidson (1989) found that both American and Japanese respondents believed that play is children's work, and that learning should be a source of satisfaction and joy. Spodek (1987) also came to similar conclusions in his study on preschool teachers. Holloway (2000) came to a somewhat different conclusion, finding that the opinions of teachers and preschool directors in Japan varied from finding play very important to not finding play important, depending on the ideologies of the preschools they worked in.

A researcher studying Icelandic preschool teachers' beliefs and practices found that while the preschool teachers underscored the importance of play, they had different views on the amount of involvement of the edu-

cational personnel in children's play (Einarsdottir, 2000). In an earlier study on the role of the educational personnel in Icelandic preschools in children's play, Einarsdottir (1998a) found that practitioners in Icelandic preschools have a rather passive or reserved role in children's dramatic play and that they are reluctant to participate in the play unless the children request it. Other studies on Scandinavian preschool teachers also reveal that they believe that children should be allowed to play on their own (Åm, 1984; Ivarson, 1996; Knudsdottir-Olofsson, 1991; Lindqvist, 1995).

The American preschool teachers in the Tobin et al. study (1989) emphasized the importance of providing children with variety and choice, but they also stated that teachers should play active roles in influencing friendship patterns and structuring children's free play. This view is consistent with Carlson's (1997) study, which found that American early childhood teachers believed that children needed adult supervision when they play.

Happiness

Early childhood teachers' views on the role of happiness also vary. For instance, in their study of preschools in three cultures, Tobin et al. (1989) found variations in the way the Chinese, Japanese, and American respondents viewed the need for happiness in their preschool children. Most of the Chinese viewed preschool as a place for serious learning; therefore, happiness was not an important goal of school. However, many Japanese preschool teachers and administrators viewed happiness as the most important function of preschool. This is consistent with the opinions of the directors of the relationship-oriented preschools in Holloway's (2000) study, who thought that the goal was to create an exciting, fun experience. Directors in the role-oriented schools in her study, however, deemphasized the role of happiness, expecting children instead to learn their subject areas. In the United States, the pursuit of happiness through play is an explicit goal of many preschools, including the one in the Tobin et al. (1989) study.

Finally, the pursuit of happiness was an important goal the Icelandic preschool teachers in Einarsdottir's (2000) study. Notably, happiness meant that children could choose with whom they played, were eager to participate, they ate well, that they were allowed to laugh and cry and enjoy the friendship of the educational personnel.

In general, happiness seems to be an important goal of those preschool teachers who adopt a child-centered ideology. However, even though the concept of happiness appears to be important in several cultural settings, studies have shown that the term can mean different things in different

cultures. Kitayama and Markus (1999) studied the concept of happiness and found that, although in both American and Japanese cultures the term refers to a positive emotional state, there were differences in its causes. Americans typically pursue self-enhancement, but Japanese typically engage in self-criticism. Further, the frequency of experiencing the positive emotional state known as happiness is associated primarily with independence and interpersonal disengagement for the American, but with interdependence and interpersonal engagement of the self for the Japanese.

Researchers have found that European-American middle-class culture places an emphasis on raising children who feel good about themselves and who have high self-esteem. A child with high self-esteem is believed to be a product of child-rearing that is accepting and approving and that highlights children's success. This is in contrast with child-rearing in East Asian countries, where the importance is placed on being average (Shweder, Goodnow, Hatano, LeVine, Markus, & Miller, 1998). Two studies conducted on American early childhood teachers found that the American early childhood teachers considered building self-esteem to be an important goal of preschool (Carlson, 1997; Einarsdottir, 1998b).

Social Skills

Preschool teachers in different cultures view the importance of social skills differently as well. In the study of preschool in three cultures by Tobin et al. (1989), 90% of Japanese parents ranked providing children with a group experience in their top three reasons for why a society should have preschools. In contrast, only 62% of the Americans and 44% of Chinese respondents ranked giving children a group experience in their top three answers.

Respondents in the Tobin et al. study also manifested cultural differences in ranking the importance of social skills. When asked about the most important things for children to learn in preschool, the Japanese most often mentioned sympathy, empathy, and concern for others, while only 5% of Americans and 4% of Chinese mentioned these characteristics. Other studies of Japanese and Scandinavian preschools show a similar cultural concern with teaching social skills (Lewis, 1995; Holloway, 2000; Einarsdottir, 2000; Carlson, 1997).

Self-Reliance

At first glance, the promotion of self-reliance and independence seem to be important goals of preschool teachers across cultures. Both Icelandic preschool teachers in Einarsdottir's (2000) study mentioned as important

goals that the children learn self-control and self-reliance. In answer to Tobin et al.'s (1989) question about why it is important for a society to have preschools, American respondents' most frequent response concerned allowing children to develop independence. The Japanese and Chinese respondents also listed independence as one of their three top answers. Teachers in all three cultures said that they work to foster children's self-reliance in their classrooms. Holloway (2000) saw a similar emphasis on independence in her study, as Japanese teachers sought to develop children's ability to acquire regular habits. Similarly, the American preschool teachers in Spodek's (1987) study all stressed the importance of children becoming independent.

The promotion of self-reliance and independence in preschool children might seem universal. However, Kagitchibasi (1996) found cultural differences in the concept of independence. While she observed that both Japanese and American mothers value independence in their children, for Japanese mothers, independence means that children interact well with other children. Thus, while independence connotes interdependence in the minds of the Japanese, it does not do so in the minds of Americans. Researchers in Iceland have noted a similar quality of interdependence in Icelandic concepts of independence (Cuffaro, 1997; Lacy, 1998).

Inconsistencies Between Teachers' Stated Beliefs and Classroom Practices

Studies present inconsistent findings on the topic of congruence between teachers' beliefs and practices. While a number of studies show that preschool and kindergarten teachers teach in accordance with their reported beliefs, other studies show a progressive incongruence between beliefs and practices as the age of the children taught increases from preschool into the primary grades, and yet others show a lack of congruence between beliefs and practices.

Since the publication of the NAEYC position paper on developmentally appropriate practices in the United States (Bredekamp, 1987), investigators have attempted to identify teachers who practice in accordance with the guidelines. Stipek and Byler (1997), McMullen (1999), and Hyson, Hirsh-Pasek, and Rescorla (1990) found that the beliefs of preschool and kindergarten teachers in their studies correlated with the practices implemented in their classrooms.

Similarly, Kagan and Smith (1988) found that the kindergarten teachers in their study operationalized their beliefs about teaching and they were quite accurate in their own perceptions of the classroom environment they created. Others have reported similar results with early childhood teachers (King, 1978; Yonemura, 1986; Spidell, 1988; McCarty, Abbott-Shim, & Lam-

bert 2001). Directors in Wing's (1989) study held beliefs that were highly consistent with the philosophy of their programs. In addition, Smith and Shepard (1988) found that kindergarten teachers believed that grade promotion should be driven by competence or readiness rather than by social considerations, and they acted accordingly.

As the age of the children taught increases from preschool into the primary grades, however, investigators saw less correlation between beliefs and practices. For example, while the preschool and kindergarten teachers in Stipek and Byler's (1997) study had high correlation between beliefs and practices, the first grade teachers showed few correlations. Although Vartuli (1999) found that teachers' beliefs were consistent with self-reported and observed practices, she found that the beliefs were closer to NAEYC guidelines than were the practices. As grade level increased, beliefs and practices became less developmentally appropriate.

In studies on developmentally appropriate practices where discrepancies between beliefs and practices exist, teachers' stated beliefs tend to be more appropriate than their practices (Hyson et al., 1990; Marcon, 1999). In their study, Charlesworth, Hart, Burts, Mosley, and Fleege (1993) found that kindergarten teachers' professed belief in the importance of developmentally appropriate practices was stronger than what was reflected in their classroom activities, materials, or behavior.

In the practices of a primary grade teacher, Goldstein (1997) found deviations from NAEYC's accepted practices that were caused by personal interpretation, partial adoption, and inconsistency in implementation. A lack of congruence between beliefs and practice was also found at the kindergarten and day care levels. Hatch and Freeman (1988) found that the kindergarten programs in general were increasingly academic oriented and that many program participants did not believe this orientation suited the children's needs. Verma and Peters (1975) found only a weak relationship between teachers' professed beliefs and observed practices.

In a study investigating the intervention of Icelandic preschool teachers in children's dramatic play, Einarsdottir (1998a) found that although in practice the children were often left to play by themselves, the majority of participants reported believing that preschool staff should influence play.

Research results reveal that teachers who do not practice according to their reported beliefs are to a great extent the ones who work in more academics oriented programs. Stipek and Byler (1997) found that nearly all the teachers reporting the inability to practice in what they believed to be appropriate ways claimed that their program was too basic-skills oriented and most often cited parents as the main source of pressure. Likewise, Hyson et al. (1990) found discrepancies between attitudes and practices that tended to occur in the high academic programs. Hatch and Freeman (1988) found that while kindergarten teachers reported a philosophy consistent with child initiation, their classroom practices were academically oriented and didactic.

Inconsistency between beliefs and practices has been explained by various environmental, and institutional factors. Teachers who report believing in developmentally appropriate practices without practicing them also report that they are unsupported by parents, colleagues, and administrators. In addition, they believe that they must develop skills to prepare students for standardized tests (Hyson, 1991; McMullen, 1999). This pressure from standardized testing may explain the increase in inconsistencies between beliefs and practices that occurs as grade level increases (McMullen, 1999; Nelson, 2000; Stipek & Byler, 1997; Vartuli, 1999). Complexities of classroom life can also constrain teachers' abilities to align practices with beliefs (Fang, 1996, Spodek, 2001).

Inconsistencies may also result from the research process itself. For example, instead of being accurate, teachers may claim to hold a set of beliefs that they think the researcher will find acceptable. For example, teachers may say that they believe in developmentally appropriate practices because it is the socially and professionally accepted philosophy (Einarsdottir, 1998a; McMullen, 1999; Vartuli, 1999).

The methodology and instruments used in the research can also affect consistency between beliefs and behaviors (Einarsdottir, 1998a; Fang, 1996; Mumby, 1982). For example, in the study on the role of adults in children's play, Einarsdottir (1998a) argues that the inconsistency between observed behavior and survey answers could be explained by the influence of the research situation itself. That is, the practitioners behave differently when they are observed and videotaped. Another explanation relates to the limitations of the questionnaire; for example, respondents could have different definitions for the word "sometimes."

CONCLUSION

The chapter reviews the literature on early childhood teachers' beliefs and relationships between beliefs and practices. Researchers in the field of early childhood teachers' beliefs accept the idea that teachers' thought processes and the beliefs they hold about their roles can affect their teaching and learning and shape their pedagogy (Fang, 1996; Isenberg, 1990; Kagan, 1992; Munby, 1982; Pajares, 1992; Spodek, 1987; Vartuli, 1999).

Because teachers can hold beliefs without being aware of them, and because beliefs are to a great extent tacit, the methods used to discover teachers' beliefs are essential. The chapter examines the methods used to uncover teachers' beliefs while cautioning that the methodology and the instruments used can affect the research results. The French philosopher Descartes observed almost four centuries ago that in order to discover the real beliefs of a person it is more important to observe what he or she does rather than what they say (Arnason, 1982), and researchers in the field of

early childhood teachers' beliefs have approached the problem of understanding teachers' beliefs by developing methodologies that use researchers' observations of teacher behavior in combination with teachers' comments about that behavior in order to uncover beliefs.

Qualitative methods where the researcher spends a long time in the setting using observations of staff and interviews with the teachers are more likely to give reliable results, and there is less danger of superficial answers or misunderstandings. However, drawbacks exist because the researcher is the main research instrument. Nevertheless, the methodologies developed for classroom ecology studies have yielded valuable results for those professionals interested in understanding factors that affect teachers' beliefs and shape their behaviors.

Another notable fact emerging from the literature is the potential for inconsistency between teachers' reported beliefs and practices. Explanations for such inconsistencies have been explored. One possible explanation is research methods used. Another explanation is that schools are complex systems and the complexity of classroom life can hinder teachers from matching their actions to their beliefs. A third possibility is that teachers may hold opposing beliefs at the same time. Teachers are individuals with beliefs and values, and they use combination of methods in their classrooms, adopting their beliefs to fit their circumstances. They often solve dilemmas in a specific context making rational and consistent decisions even though superficially they seem inconsistent. Finally, teachers may not hold all their beliefs with equal strength (Spodek, 2001). Understanding the reasons for inconsistencies between beliefs and practice is an important aspect of improving teacher training and teaching practices and further research in this area is needed.

The third idea that emerges from the literature is that curriculum designers and educators of teachers must understand the ways in which beliefs affect classroom practices (McCarty, Abbott-Shim, & Lambert, 2001; Pajares, 1992). When teachers' beliefs are not reflected in practice, teachers experience conflict, their behavior becomes less congruent, and the children are more likely to receive mixed messages from the teacher about what is valued (Smith & Croom, 2000; Vartuli, 1999). Therefore, raising teachers' awareness of their beliefs is an important aspect in curriculum development and teacher education. Future studies in this area are essential.

A fourth emergent idea is the impact of globalization on early childhood studies. The studies explored in the chapter demonstrate that there are cultural differences and different understandings of what is important for children. Although the same terminology may be used, it may refer to different concepts in different cultures. Zembylas (2001) points out that negotiations between global influences and local values now characterize the curriculum-making process around the world. Ultimately, and perhaps most importantly, the field of early childhood education will benefit from

the global perspective attained through continued study of cultural differences among beliefs and practices of teachers around the world.

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CHAPTER 8

CREATIVITY AND TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTIONS

Donna Tafuri and Olivia N. Saracho

INTRODUCTION

Educators, researchers, and theorists are currently focusing on human creativity. Recent research on creativity examines the teachers' influence on their classroom children's creativity. For example, Joussemet and Koestner (1999) examine the effect of expected rewards on children's creativity. According to Guilford (1959):

> ... With the information that most of the creative-thinking abilities are in the divergent-thinking category, the teacher can seek opportunities to call for divergent thinking. In transmitting our culture to the younger generation, we naturally stress conventional answers to problems, hence we emphasize convergent thinking. In urging that we need more emphasis upon divergent thinking on the part of students, I am not advocating that we attempt to create a generation of young rebels. It should be possible to teach appreciation for those things from the past that are good as well as to encourage students to see how things might be done better (p. 27).

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Some researchers believe that teachers can facilitate the children's creative development when they:

a. understand the nature of creativity as a discrete process that is adaptable to learning;
b. implement innovative educational reform and practices;
c. adapt their instructional behaviors and learning environments to effectively foster creativity; and
d. develop and assess creative curriculum methods and programs (Esquivel, 1995).

The role of the teacher in creative teaching may be subsumed under the broad category of "teacher effectiveness" research, which documents the impact that teachers have on the students' learning.

Creativity is a unique and integral aspect of human experience and an important educational goal. Its development is of potential value for individual self-actualization and expression and of benefit to others and society. Teachers may play a significant role in fostering the development of creative abilities in all students through their philosophical outlook and attitudes, the learning environment they provide, the instructional approaches they implement and their relationship and behavioral interaction with students. The role of the teacher in creative teaching becomes critical at the early childhood level when it is the most influential part of the young children's lives since it is the time when their learning can be cultivated or stifled.

E. Paul Torrance initiated research to test his belief that creative children mature into creative adults (Plucker, 1999; Plucker & Renzulli, 1999). Stokes (1999) shows the importance of closely observing the early learning experiences of accomplished individuals. The research literature relating to creativity suggest that teachers can play a strong role in the development of the creative thinking abilities of children, especially young children (Bonds & Bonds, 1990; Runco, 1990; Torrance, 1963, 1984). The probability that children will develop creative thinking abilities appears to be related to the type of interactions (e.g., response opportunities, levels of questions, feedback reactions) they engage in with their teachers. This review will encompass the literature in the areas of creativity and teacher-student interactions in relation to creativity.

CREATIVITY

The concept of creativity is one which elicits various conceptualizations. These understandings emerge from diverse psychological thought. As a result of these diverse perceptions, there is still no generally accepted defi-

nition of the concept of creativity (Clark, 1983; Woodman, & Schoenfeld, 1990). However, the attributes of creative people show an impressive consistency among the experts (Dawson, D'Andrea, Affinito, & Westby, 1999). In her study of three- to five-year-olds, Saracho (1992) defines creativity as a process, product, or personal characteristics in the individual's interpersonal and intrapersonal process by which originality, high quality, and genuinely important products are created. In relation to young children, the stress should continue on the creative process (i.e., developing and generating original ideas), the backbone of creative potential (Moran, 1990). The recognition of children's ideas assists them in creating more ideas. Children are capable of exploring their abilities to create and assess hypotheses, and modify their ideas based on this recognition (Saracho, 1992). Clark (1983) offers a system of categorizing definitions of creativity which corresponds to human brain functions. She believes that:

> all research, characteristics, discussions of enhancing practices, and so on, are grouped in one of four areas, depending upon the definition the author or researcher gives creativity and which function that definition uses (p. 32).

Clark identifies these functions as "rational thinking; high levels of emotional development or feelings; talent and high levels of mental and physical development; and higher levels of consciousness, resulting in use of imagery, fantasy, and breakthroughs to the preconscious or unconscious states" (p. 32).

Utilizing this categorical schema, theorists have developed definitions of creativity that are related to rational thinking or emotional feelings. Torrance (1962, 1972) and Guilford (1959) advocate the rational thinking perspective of creativity. Torrance (1962) defines creativity as "the process of sensing gaps or disturbing missing elements, forming new hypotheses and communicating the results, possibly modifying and retesting the hypotheses" (p. 16). Guilford (1959) interprets creativity as "aptitude traits... fluency of thinking and flexibility of thinking, as well as originality, sensitivity to problems, redefinition and elaboration..." (p. 160). Maslow (1959) and Rogers (1959) see creativity emerging from the emotional aspect of human life. Maslow (1959) sees creativity is "self-actualizing...directly from the personality...a defining characteristic of essential humanness" (pp. 85, 94). Rogers (1959) claims that creativity emerges from "man's tendency to actualize himself..." (p. 72). They further suggest that creativity can be discussed from the talent aspect of the schema as well. For example, Maslow (1959) refers to creativity as a product of an activity and concentrated effort. Moreover, Rogers (1959) states that creativity emerges "in action of a novel rational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual..." (p. 71).

Although theorists most often offer definitions of creativity which seemingly emerge from one viewpoint of the schema, they frequently draw from

other functions to elaborate upon their discussions, thus, resulting in a broader more holistic view of the concept of creativity than their definition may suggest (Clark, 1983). For the purpose of this chapter, Torrance's (1962, 1965) term for "creativity" will be used. Creativity will be regarded as the ability to exhibit flexibility, fluency, originality, and elaboration, where flexibility refers to the ability to shift from one approach to conceptualizing ideas and thoughts to another; fluency refers to the individuals' ability to produce numerous ideas related to a concept or object; originality refers to the ability to produce novel, unusual or new ideas; while elaboration refers to the ability to develop, embellish, or carry out ideas (Torrance, Ball, & Safter, 1992).

Defining creativity as such suggests that, at least to some extent, creative abilities are measurable by a score on a standardized test of creativity. Nearly all tests of creativity have emerged from the rational thinking viewpoint (Clark, 1983).

CHARACTERISTICS OF CREATIVE INDIVIDUALS

Torrance and Myers (1970) imply that all normal persons possess creative potential and that creativity is learned, suggesting that creativity can be taught. Research on creativity provides the foundation for creativity training programs in education (Plucker, 1999; Plucker & Renzulli, 1999). Basadur, Runco, and Vega (2000) test a training program where individuals have a variety of quality and evaluating choices. A major attitudinal skill is the selection for active divergence. Their results show that subjects learn to employ a simple process of creativity in thinking to solve real problems. Stokes (1999) examines the effects of early training on creativity under the assumption that individuals (both humans and animals) can be taught how to variably behave by rewarding them for doing a task more or less differently. She believes that this type of training requires explicit variability criteria since a reward is directly contingent on variability. Some criteria designate novelty. For example, if young children are complimented for novel forms during block building or painting, they invent new forms.

Explicit variability criteria are an integral component of creativity enhancement programs. Torrance and Myers (1970) describe creative people as being aware of and sensitive to their surroundings, flexible, spontaneous, original, and intuitive. Dawson et al. (1999) describe highly creative individuals as impulsive, individualistic, nonconformist, progressive, and free-spirited. Runco, Nemiro, and Walberg (1998) identify creative factors as actual creative behavior, motivation and drive, imagery, imagination, and creative products. Clark (1983) uses her categorical schema to characterize rationally functioning creative individuals as being self-disciplined, adventurous, having a limited tolerance for boredom, possessing the ability

to think divergently, possessing a good sense of humor, and having a well established knowledge base. Such people have been found to need time to think, to be sensitive to the environment, and to need a supportive climate in which to create (Albert & Runco, 1989; Clark, 1983).

Characteristics of creative individuals, as defined under the aspect of "feelings," would include being expressive, being more self-accepting and less afraid of others' opinions than less creative persons, and not being afraid of the unknown (Clark 1983; Maslow, 1959). Furthermore, such creative individuals have been described as having the ability to concentrate, having the ability to accept conflict, and having the courage to be different (Clark, 1983). Many studies identify specific factors or traits that can accurately describe characteristics of creative individuals (Dawson et al., 1999). Runco et al. (1998) administered a survey to 143 creativity researchers to rate the importance of various traits and developmental factors on creative achievement. Their results indicate a hierarchy of traits and developmental factors including:

1. behaviors in the motivational composite,
2. problem finding and questioning skills, and traits reflecting adaptive cognition,
3. education and learning,
4. cultural and social factors, and
5. family and early background.

The characteristics of creative individuals from the talent aspect of creativity are comprised of openness to experiences, exhibiting skilled performance of the traditional arts, and having the ability to view concepts from various perspectives. Furthermore, characteristics of those who would be identified as creative from the higher level of consciousness viewpoint consist of being able to fantasize, being enthusiastic and impulsive, exploring new solutions to problems, and having the ability to draw upon unconscious and preconscious thoughts (Clark, 1983). A group of creative people includes creative teachers.

CREATIVE TEACHERS

Research evidence suggest that virtually by the nature of their role teachers exhibit behaviors that are characteristic of creative persons. Jacobs (1984) refers to creative teachers as explorers. He states that as explorers, teachers are inventive and experiment with instruments in various novel ways. They help children to find the "joy of discovery." Jacobs (1984) describes these teachers as considering the classroom a "laboratory for functional learning and personal-social learning" (p. 102). de Kruif, McWilliam, Ridley, and

Wakely (2000) show that child care teachers respond to their students based on their level of education and sensitivity, which influences the classroom quality, group child engagement, and center licensing level. These factors can also influence their responses to creative and uncreative students as teachers are able to identify creative students.

Traditional studies rely on experts' definitions and theories of creativity (i.e., explicit theories). Runco et al. (1998) examine personal explicit theories of creativity in the individuals' actual creative behavior, motivation and drive, imagery, imagination, and creative products. From a practical perspective, individuals engaging in creative activity do not have explicit theories in mind. Personal definitions of creativity and beliefs about how to cultivate and assess creativity guide their thoughts and actions. Individuals' personal definitions of creativity are referred to as implicit theories. Perhaps the most exciting development in recent years relate to the researchers' use of implicit theories of psychological constructs, including creativity. Chan and Chan (1999) assess the individuals' personal definitions of creativity (i.e., implicit theories).

Implicit theories give both researchers and practitioners insight into creativity (Plucker & Runco, 1998), providing assistance to teachers in identifying creative students and help them to promote their students' learning. Teachers develop implicit theories about the characteristics of creative and uncreative students (Chan & Chan, 1999) and suggest educational implications. Scott (1999) shows that teachers predict their students' disruptive and creative behavior, which has an impact in the teachers' attitudes toward creative students. Dawson et al. (1999) report that research studies done for over 30 years continually show that teachers tend to dislike creative children, although most teachers normally declare an emphasis on creativity as a major educational goal. They conclude that teachers tend to provide self-reports that differ from their behavior. Differences between teacher self-reports and teacher behavior may not be a conscious deception on the part of teachers, but may indicate differences between teachers' and researchers' ideas of approaches to encourage creativity, an idea which is supported by Torrance and Myers (1961). They report that when teachers are asked to generate examples of their own behavior in which they encourage creativity, they indeed refer to examples of their acting derisively toward children's ideas. Dawson et al. (1999) declare that differences between teacher self-reports and their assessments of the creative suggest that teachers are unaware of creativity characteristics related to those identified by researchers. Discrepancies between the researchers' and teachers' definition of creativity explain the disagreement between teachers' self-reports and their actual behaviors, but this explanation fails to remedy the situation of providing a hospitable educational environment for creative children. Torrance and Myers (1961) show that the teachers' outlooks on creativity affect their behavior. Creative children in the classroom are ignored or, worse still, punished. If the teachers' notions on cre-

ativity are independent of actual creative performance, teachers may not recognize, much less nurture, creative talent. In contrast, if teachers are able to predict actual creative behavior, then their discriminations against creative children may be more evident than real (Dawson et al., 1999). Since teachers' contradicting concepts of creativity also might extend to a conflicting appraisal of creative works, it is important that both teachers and researchers agree on these characteristics. Creative persons make unique interpretations that may be communicated through such media as art, music, and language (Saracho, 1986).

Creative teachers provide students with opportunities to try various media for creative arts to "liberate children from inhibitions built up through fear of criticism, feelings of inadequacy and inferiority" (Jacobs, 1984, p. 102), and are facilitators of learning (Smith, 1966). Torrance and Myers (1970) state that teachers must be aware of and sensitive to what occurs in the classroom situation. First, they need to be aware of the educational needs of the students as well as their emotional, social, and physical needs. Second, teachers must be sensitive to the academic abilities of the children as well as what motivational techniques will promote maximum achievement levels for their students. Third, they must be spontaneous and able to react to events quickly and confidently, knowing that the decisions that they make are the best ones for the situation at that moment. Furthermore, teachers must be original in their thinking. They must constantly adapt and create materials for students, devise new teaching techniques to reinforce learning, and respond to the unexpected. They must be intuitive in their judgments, trusting their intuition. Bonds and Bonds (1990) add that creative teachers are risk takers. They are not afraid to express their own creativity in the classroom.

Although definitions and characteristics of creativity may vary among theorists, most seem to agree that all people have the ability to be creative, especially young children (Clark, 1983; Torrance, 1962). Moreover, it is ascertained that teachers can function to either facilitate or stifle these characteristics in students (Jacobs, 1984; Runco, 1990; Torrance & Myers, 1970).

FACILITATING CREATIVITY

Teachers can provide students with a range of experiences that promote their creative thinking abilities (Denny, 1968; Rusch, Denny, & Ives, 1965, 1967; Torrance, 1962), such as providing students with situations that allow for the presentation of incompleteness and openness; give them responsibility and independence; allow them the opportunity for questioning, exploration, observation, test inferences, and training; and encourage their interactions with adults and peers. Teachers need to avoid factors that suppress the students' creative development including discouragements of

exploration, sex role stereotyping, authoritarianism, and a discourtesy for imagination (Clark, 1983; Torrance, 1962, 1965).

Many theorists and researchers address the role teachers play in fostering creativity in children. This role is generally perceived as being multifaceted in nature. The major responsibility of the preschool teacher has been regarded by Saracho (1990, 1992) as making decisions which address the learning experiences and interactions of children. Cecil, Gray, Thornberg and Ispa (1985) agree and suggest that teachers be committed to perpetual observations of children in their educational setting, especially during play activities. Saracho (1986) identifies the cognitive, social, emotional (affective), and physical constructs in children's play that are centralized in young children's learning. Findings from several of her play studies (e.g., Saracho, 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2001; Saracho & Spodek, 1995, 1998) provide support for these constructs, which display the beginning of creativity.

Researchers (e.g., Runco et al., 1998; Saracho, 1986) assert that creativity is a complex or syndrome which derives from cognitive, affective, social, and physical realms. According to Saracho (1992), creativity depicts one facet of children's cognitive functioning that relates to young children's play, suggesting implications for an understanding of young children's creativity. James and Asmus (2001) attempt to integrate cognitive skill approaches in understanding the sources of creativity. They propose that cognitive skills have differential predictive power for different domains of creativity. Their results indicate that the originality of thinking partially mediates the affiliations of creativity in different domains, and that divergent thinking has some interactive and major effect on creativity.

Theoretically, pretend play promotes the cognitive and affective processes, which are important in creativity. Expression of affect states and affect-laden fantasy are affective processes that are mutual to both play and creativity. Russ and Kaugars (2001) demonstrate that play is significantly attributed to the originality of the divergent thinking responses of first and second graders. Russ, Robins, and Christiano (1999) show that the quality of fantasy and imagination in the early play of first- and second-grade children can predict their divergent thinking over time. According to Piaget (1962), "The more the child progresses in adaptation, the more play is reintegrated into general intelligence, and the conscious symbol is replaced by constructions and creative imagination" (p. 205). In so doing, teachers must attain a thorough understanding of the normal children's developmental process to ensure that the proper selection of materials and processes will be most beneficial at each stage of development.

Piaget's theory of intellectual development identifies four major stages of intellectual development. These periods of development include sensorimotor (birth to two years), preoperational (two years to seven years), concrete operational (seven years to eleven years), and formal operational (eleven years and older) (Piaget, 1962). Piaget's cognitive development is heavily influenced by two processes labeled as assimilation and accommo-

dation. Accordingly, assimilation refers to the individual's ability to recognize, categorize, and utilize objects in terms of already existing cognitive schema. Accommodation, on the other hand, requires individuals to note unique aspects of a new encounter and change their schemata to better fit this new reality. While both assimilation and accommodation assist the child in better understanding the environment, there are instances in which one process dominates the other. This is frequently exhibited in a child's play activities. The child's abilities are categorized into "distorting assimilation" and "free assimilation." "Distorting assimilation" refers to occurrences in which children perceive objects as becoming other objects. For example, "a box is distorted into a cat, or a safety pin is distorted into a grandmother..." (Piaget, 1962, p. 124). "Free assimilation," on the other hand, refers to the integration of "distorted assimilation" symbols. For example, "a blade of grass becomes a thermometer and a box is a bath, the thermometer is placed into the bath to test the temperature of the water" (Piaget, 1962, p. 127). It is this ability to "distort," develop, and generate original ideas, which is the basis of creativity (Pickard, 1990; Runco 1990; Torrance, 1963, 1965). Creative thought provides an understanding of thought processes. In the creative approach individuals interact with an external facet of reality and, in so doing, assimilate the reality to their own stratagems, adapting it to the reality of their own ego, which is a playful and pleasurable process (Ayman-Nolley, 1999). Since both assimilation and accommodation facilitate the children's understanding of the environment, it is important that teachers structure the environment to promote these processes.

Structuring the Environment

Studies indicate that environments can either support or thwart creativity and the capacity to bring about change. Isaksen, Lauer, Ekvall, and Britz (2001) believe that the environment for creativity and change can be described. In order for creativity to become an integral part of the children's learning experiences, teachers must provide an environment that is conducive to such learning. It must be rich in problem-solving activities that entice the children's curiosity and provide opportunities for questioning (Moran, 1988; Saracho, 1990; Torrance, 1963, 1965, 1972, 1981, 1984). Basadur et al. (2000) demonstrate how individuals learn and apply a simple process of creative thinking to solve real problems. Reiter-Palmon, Mumford, and Threlfall (1998) investigate how individuals solve everyday problems creatively, such as whether problem construction plays a role in how creative individuals interpret ambiguous and ill-defined problems. Their results suggest that the individuals' quality and originality in solving the problems relate to both the appropriateness of the problem construc-

tion and solution. Tegano, Sawyers, and Moran (1989) contend that problem-finding and solving in the preschool setting may not occur naturally. They suggest that it is the teacher who can nurture problem-finding and solving strategies that will encourage creativity in young children by changing the structure of a situation to ensure its occurrence. Isaksen et al. (2001) affirm that the environment can be modified through the development of a model for organizational change.

Teachers can determine the structure of the classroom in various ways. The first is in the initial planning for an activity. The second is associated with how the child chooses to interact with the materials provided for the activity, and the third is associated with the nature of the teacher's involvement in the activity (the response opportunities, level of questions, and feedback reactions he/she provides). Studies provide evidence indicating that the structure of the classroom plays an integral part in influencing problem-finding and solving (Fedoruk & Norman, 1991; Tegano et al., 1989).

In structuring the classroom environment, Harrington (1987) advises teachers to provide a psychologically safe environment. Harrington (1987), Saracho (1990, 1992), Torrance (1962, 1965), and Torrance and Myers (1970) believe that creative solutions to problems will be fully tested only in an environment in which children feel warmth, encouragement, and respect for their ideas. Teachers can convey respect and acceptance by encouraging children to participate in the decision-making process when structuring the classroom environment. In addition, skilled teachers allow children the opportunity to control their learning experiences (Harrington, 1987) by being sensitive and responding to their requests. Teachers can allow the children to solve their own problem when they ask, "Can we...?" Teachers can provide a response such as, "Yes, and how can we do this?" or "Sure, but what will we need to do this?"

Harrington (1987) suggests that teachers should allow time for children to think about and develop their ideas. Tegano and her associates (1989) as well as Trostle and Yawkey (1983) agree with this idea. Tegano et al. (1989) state that "Periods of uninterrupted exploration and play are part of the supportive environment for developing creative potential in young children" (p. 97). While Trostle and Yawkey (1983) ascertain that "Using adult strategies without regarding the child's processes which are necessary for creative thinking to flourish can actually decrease creativity and imagination" (p.183). In helping children develop and test ideas, teachers need to structure an environment that allows children the opportunity for exploration in creative play.

Encouraging Exploration in Creative Play

Children need time to persist and experiment with objects, for it is through experiments that they develop a basic understanding of the physi-

cal characteristics of the materials. Through experimentation children learn to assimilate and accommodate. Dansky and Silverman's (1973) research confirm the benefits of children's examination of unfamiliar objects during uninterrupted exploration. Their study shows the preschool children's object exploration in one of three treatment conditions (play group, imitation group, control group). Each of the experimental groups are provided with unstructured materials, such as a pile of 10 paper towels, a screwdriver, a wooden board with five screws in it, a pile of 30 paper clips, 15 blank cards, 10 empty kitchen size match boxes, and a tray containing six wet plastic cups. Children in the play group are presented with the materials and instructed, "Play with all of these things. Do whatever you want to with them." Children in the imitation group, however, were asked to observe the experimenter as he performed four tasks using the materials. Subsequently, children were asked to repeat the experimenter's actions exactly as they had seen them performed. Stimulus materials provided for subjects in the control group included a box of crayons and four sketches, which they were permitted to color as they wished. Findings indicate that subjects receiving the play treatment (uninterrupted exploration) produce significantly more non-standard responses for each of the stimuli materials than do subjects in either the imitation or the control treatment groups. Harrington (1987) proposes that "... active participation in play rather than passive observation helps the child learn to assimilate freely and to make associations among new and creative ways of playing" (p. 315). Therefore, teachers should avoid setting limits on creative exploration (Harrington, 1982; Moran 1988). Harrington (1987) calculates that in promoting creative exploration situations, teachers need to rearrange and frequently modify the preschool classroom environment. He determines that if the environment is stagnant, children are not provided the opportunity to perceive their surroundings uniquely.

Several means exist for establishing an environment conducive to the facilitation of creative thinking abilities. Harrington (1987) suggests that a formal creative play space be provided for preschool children. He ascertains that formal creative play spaces convey to the children that play is part of the curriculum. Furthermore, it conveys the message to children that creative exploration is encouraged. Teachers should permit and train children to verbally elaborate their creative thoughts in these spaces (Harrington, 1987). Saracho (1990) recommends that these play spaces include materials that invite children to explore, invent, discover, and create. Materials to stimulate the process include unit blocks, easels, paints, clay, role-playing materials, tubs, and water tables. This suggests that a variety of materials, both structured and unstructured, should be provided for the children to explore. Evidence that the use of unstructured materials fosters creative thinking has been documented by researchers such as Dansky and Silverman (1973), Saracho (1990, 1992), and Torrance (1972).

FACILITATING CREATIVE PLAY

Another method of establishing a creative environment is evaluation and instruction to facilitate the children's creative play. Harrington (1982) states that the role of the teacher in evaluating the outcomes of a creative play environment should include four essential elements. First, the teachers spend more time listening to the child than having the child listen to the teacher. Second, the teacher should avoid being judgmental about the child. Furthermore, the teacher pays attention to a child's creative productions. Harrington (1982) concludes that the teacher should aspire to respect creativity and divergent thinking as areas of educational endeavors. Teachers, especially teachers of the very young, need to respect creativity as an important facet of a child's development.

The strategies suggested by Harrington (1982); Saracho (1990, 1992); Tegano et al. (1989); and Torrance and Myers (1970) are fundamentally similar. All agree that providing children with an environment that is psychologically and physically safe, planning activities that are a result of high levels of interest, providing children with time to create, and not passing judgment on children's ideas and products are strategies that teachers should use to facilitate creative problem-solving.

When creativity is viewed from the rational thinking perspective, it is perceived as an aspect of an individual's development which can be improved through instruction (Clark, 1983). Through their interactions with students, their implementations of a verbal environment, and their provision of creative thinking activities, teachers become the facilitator of creative growth (Clark 1983; Harrington, 1982; Torrance, 1962) and can be able to guide the children's creative play.

Guiding Creative Play

Teachers have a fundamental role in establishing the setting for children's play by guiding its direction and modifying it. In order to assure the quality of play in a classroom, teachers must engage in careful preparation, planning, and guidance. They guide children's play in how they plan for play, how they initiate play, and how they guide play during the play activity itself (Spodek & Saracho, 1998). They need to directly or indirectly facilitate specific types of play to influence their play behavior in the classroom, especially those requiring higher cognitive and creative processes. Dansky and Silverman (1973) examine whether training can enhance imaginative (creative) play. Their study investigates the link between a child's level of play and their performance on conventional creativity tests. Children are randomly divided into four groups: Group I receives tutoring with play

materials, Group II interacts with the same play materials but receive no tutorial instruction, Group III receives attention from a tutor but have no contact with the stimuli, and Group IV receives neither tutoring nor exposure to the play materials. In other words, children in Groups I, II, and III receive some form of adult-student interaction for a period of 10 to 30 minute sessions. Group IV, the control group, receives no adult intervention. The findings of this investigation reveal that children who play freely with the objects, without adult intervention become more mechanical in their play; whereas, as the sessions progress, the children who interact with adults and are tutored in imaginative (creative) play, play with the objects in more creative manners. Unfortunately, these results are not generalizable to cross cultural groups.

Cross cultural studies (e.g., Eifermann, 1971) indicate that in some cultures creative play occurs quite infrequently. This finding is documented among culturally diverse children (Shmukler, 1982-1983). The lack of creative play among lower class and culturally diverse children motivates a number of researchers to study the affects of creative play training methods.

Studies conducted by researchers (e.g., Dansky, 1980; Freyberg, 1973) show the use of training methods to enhance both the scope and frequency of creative play as well as have an effect on cognitive and social gains. Studies of creative play training reveal improved scores on creativity measures (Dansky, 1980), less aggressive and hyperactive behaviors (Freyberg, 1973), improvement in group problem-solving behaviors (Rosen, 1974), and improvement in language skills and verbal fluency (Freyberg, 1973). One method of training is by prompting children to promote their creative play.

PROMPTING CREATIVE PLAY

A form of promoting creative play is to stimulate the children's curiosity through the use of questions. Improvement in such behaviors as creativity, verbal fluency, and language skills can be enhanced when children are permitted to articulate their ideas uninhibitedly (Harrington, 1982). Teachers can assist children in the articulation of ideas by asking open-ended questions such as "What are all of the things that you can do, make, or, use this for?" (Bonds & Bonds, 1990; Clark, 1983; Harrington, 1982; Jacobs, 1984; Torrance & Myers, 1970).

Pellegrini's (1984-1985) study examines the extent to which preschoolers "could be tutored by an adult to explore objects and subsequently, give novel uses for explored and previously unexplored objects" (p. 34). Subjects in Pellegrini's study engage in an exploration questioning dialogue session referred to as an "exploration training session." During this session,

children are permitted to manipulate objects as they answer open-ended questions such as "What do you see here?" The children are then instructed to compare and contrast the physical attributes of these objects. Once again an open-ended questioning paradigm is employed. It is believed that this form of questioning would necessitate the exploration of the objects.

The effects of this guided exploration questioning paradigm on associative fluency (an aspect of creativity) is compared with the responses of subjects acting as the control and play groups in a prior study. The findings disclose that children who engage in the guided exploration questioning paradigm generate a significantly greater amount of creative uses for stimulus objects they examine than do children in either the play or control group. Additionally, incorporating these data with findings of the previous study reveal that the children who freely explore objects on their own, without generating answers to open-ended questions, produce more novel responses than do the control group (Pellegrini, 1984-1985). Pellegrini (1984-1985) offers two possible explanations for these findings. First, children in the play group may focus their attention on a limited number of physical object attributes. Consequently, he asserts that children interacting with adults in the guided exploration questioning paradigm may generate a greater amount of physical attributes of the stimuli. Second, he believes that these children, when describing similarities and differences between the objects, verbally encode descriptions for the stimuli. Pellegrini notes that these verbalizations may assist the children in recalling object characteristics and, thus, the children utilize them as a basis for creative responses. For example, a child may verbalize that a spool is round. This verbal encoding may assist the child as he/she generates a response indicating that an alternative use for a spool can be a wheel. Harrington's (1982) study disclosed similar findings: that preschool children who are initially permitted to verbalize ideas for play objects engage in more creative play than do children who listen to an adult describe creative play ideas for the same play object stimuli.

In yet another extension of Pellegrini's (1984-85) study, children's ability to transfer exploration training session questions from the training stimuli to unexplored objects is investigated. Children are asked to solicit alternative uses for objects they had not explored during the training session. Findings indicate that, once again, children in the exploration questioning group generate a significantly greater amount of creative uses for unexplored objects than do children in either the play or the control groups. This finding seems to indicate that preschool students possess the ability to transfer guided exploration question strategies to new situations. Pellegrini ascertains that associative fluency may be improved by training children in exploration play or divergent thinking skills through adult interactions.

To foster the child's socialization skills, teachers can schedule social activities that allow for teacher-student dyadic interactions. These interactions afford the teacher an opportunity to assist children in acquiring social techniques (Saracho, 1990, 1992), and developing creative thinking abilities (Clark, 1983; Torrance, 1962; Torrance & Myers, 1970).

TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTIONS

Verbal interactions of teachers and students can serve to either nurture or smother children's creative growth (Jacobs, 1984; Runco, 1990; Torrance 1962, 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). Scott (1999) investigates the teachers' attitudes toward creativity where teachers predict the students' disruptive and creative behavior. However, Dawson et al. (1999) believe that teachers' expressions of what is desirable in students contradict with students' impressions of the teachers' intentions. Teachers convey that they value qualities such as students' "curiosity" and "independent thinking," but students interpret their teachers' behavior as appreciating "obedience" and underrating "always asking questions" and "self-sufficiency." The work of Soriano de Alencar (1989) serves to affirm that teachers as well as parents frequently repress the creative potential of children. She states that:

> In the lives of millions of children, prohibitions, recommendations, and criticisms occur daily, suggesting to them that they are unable to do anything well by themselves. Very early in their lives children learn that the behaviors most valued by their parents and teachers are not the behaviors conducive to exploration, discovery, and creation, but those which lead to conformism, passivity, and stereotype. Moreover, the behaviors of parents and teachers retards potential growth by not letting children know the full extent of their resources and skills (p. 13).

For example, the interactions of teachers and students in the Brazilian school system typically emphasize memorization and reproduction of knowledge. Additionally, only a small number of cognitive skills are addressed. Fantasy and imagination are not encouraged in Brazilian schools, and personality traits such as independence, self-confidence, and initiative, are virtuously ignored. Soriano de Alencar (1989) suggests that as a result of children being schooled in this type of environment, their creative potential is typically blocked and inhibited. Recently, however, there has been a growing awareness of the impediments to developing creativity which has lead to the establishment of a creativity program designed with four goals in mind. These goals include helping teachers become aware of their own creative thinking abilities, providing techniques and exercises for use in the classroom, teaching the basic concepts of creative thinking and problem solving, and making teachers aware of the obstacles

to the development of creativity in the school as well as in society. These goals have been integrated into a program and have been tested to examine their effects. Data obtained through the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking reveal that teachers who participate in and complete the program improve their scores on several creativity measures. Data also indicate that the program contributes to the enrichment of Brazilian teachers by expanding their knowledge of creative teaching methods and cultivating creative attitudes among children (Soriano de Alencar, 1989).

Other researchers are also exploring the importance of teacher-student interactions. Runco (1990) believes that teacher-student interactions can function to stifle creativity. He assumes that all too often teachers inadvertently promote convergent thinking in their students by responding to and reinforcing "correct" answers. Furthermore, he affirms that the reinforcement of divergent and creative thinking is critical to promoting the development of creative thinking abilities in students. Torrance and Myers (1970) suggest that to cultivate positive teacher-student interactions, that will function to enhance creativity among students, it is essential that teachers convey to their students that they are "on the same team." This message is easily communicated when the relationship is one which is based on mutual trust and respect. Moreover, trust is imperative if creative potentialities are to be maximized. In a quoted conversation, between Torrance and Myers (1970), Torrance is reported as saying:

> Once you establish this confidential relationship and the pupil knows that you are on his side, you can afford to make many mistakes in teaching techniques and he will continue learning and growing creatively. You can be critical and he will not be defensive; he will use the criticism constructively (Torrance & Myers, 1970, p. 13).

Torrance and Myers (1970) assume that most teachers desire such relationships with students, however, teachers do not always understand the creative child. Teachers, therefore, interact with students in a manner which may cause creativity to diminish (through both the response opportunities and feedback they provide for their students). To achieve a positive creative relationship, Torrance states that the desire for the teacher to help students learn must be genuine. The teacher must truly care about the students and communicate that caring to them. Torrance (1965) and Torrance and Myers (1970) consider that a common characteristic of creative children is their persistence to ask questions. Frequently teachers criticize children for this action. Torrance and Myers (1970) suggest that teachers learn to view the questioning aspect of the child as a positive one. They report that

> In the creative teacher-pupil relationship, the teacher must be willing to permit one thing to lead to another, and should not be disturbed when a pupil asks an unexpected question or proposes a surprising solution. The relation-

> ship is dominated by love and kindly concern. Discipline may be strict and certain but not punitive or cruel (Torrance & Myers, 1970, p. 108).

The teacher-student relationship is essentially regarded as one which promotes "response opportunities" (Brophy & Good, 1970a, 1970b; Fedoruk & Norman, 1991; Torrance & Myers, 1970). The teacher's role is to stimulate a particular child (or group of children); thus the child responds to the stimuli. In a creative teacher-student relationship, co-experiencing exists between teachers and students where errors or mistakes are irrelevant. The children's creative thinking processes continue uninhibited because the relationship is one which is characterized by openness, encouragement, and non-threatening teacher behaviors. By allowing children to react to their environment in ways that are uniquely their own, their creativity is nurtured (Torrance & Myers, 1970).

Evidence of the benefits of having teachers understand and foster creative teaching methods is imparted in the writings of Runco (1990) who states that the teacher is a "powerful model." "If we want creative students, we should provide creative teachers. Not only will creative teachers demonstrate divergent thinking, creative teachers are more likely than less creative teachers to look for, value, appreciate, and reinforce creativity in the students" (Runco, 1990, p. 38). This is supported by Bonds and Bonds (1990) who examine the gains students make as a result of interacting with teachers who understand and foster creativity. Their area of investigation revolves around the classroom reading curriculum. They show that it is the teacher who fosters a student's love for books by using "imagination and professional wisdom to enrich the reading of children by introducing creativity to reading instruction" (Bonds & Bonds, 1990, p. 106). It is in such a teacher's classroom that divergent ideas and motivational materials will foster creative productions of students (Bonds & Bonds, 1990).

Research literature dating back as far as the 1960s provides similar findings. Denny (1968) and Rusch et al. (1965) assume that improvement on creativity scores of children are the results of special methods or techniques. The study by Rusch et al. (1965) examines whether aspects of creativity can be fostered in sixth grade students. Comparisons are made between an experimental group, which is composed of teachers who are described as "primarily concerned with providing a classroom climate that would encourage creativity at all times" (p. 263) and a control group, which is composed of teachers who are less concerned with teaching creativity. Pretest/posttest results on four aspects of creativity (sensitivity, originality, fluency, redefinition) indicate that the experimental group's scores in creativity increase significantly more than the control group. Rusch et al. (1965) conclude that this study supports that creativity is fostered in the experimental group. Denny (1968) concludes that "... warm, pupil-centered teacher behavior tends to foster pupil creative thinking, as opposed to task-oriented, aloof teacher behavior" (p. 365). de Kruif et al. (2000)

examine patterns of teachers' interaction behaviors in early childhood classrooms whose ages range from 12 to 36 months. Child care teachers' interaction patterns fall into eight interaction behaviors that are classified into four homogenous interaction clusters:

1. teachers have average scores on all interaction behaviors compared to the other teachers in the study,
2. teachers are characterized by high ratings on elaborating and low ratings on redirecting behaviors,
3. teachers who score high on redirecting and low on all other behaviors, and
4. teachers who receive high ratings on non elaborative behaviors.

Teacher behaviors (warm, friendly, encouraging vs. cold, harsh, discouraging adult attitudes) are generally communicated to students in verbal exchanges. Such interactions between teachers and students set the environment in which the teachers and children engage. Negative verbal interactions can result in children feeling inadequate, confused, and frustrated (Clark, 1983; Kostelnik, Stein & Whiren, 1988; Torrance, 1963, 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). Positive verbal interactions, on the other hand, can result in children feeling capable, enlightened, and encouraged (Denny, 1968; Jacobs, 1984; Kostelnik et al., 1988; Rusch et al., 1965, 1967; Torrance & Myers 1970).

VERBAL INTERACTIONS IN RELATIONSHIPS

Adult participation in early childhood settings creates a verbal environment (Clark 1983; Harrington, 1982; Kostelnik et al., 1988; Torrance, 1963; 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). Through interactions with others, young children begin to develop self-worth (Swayze, 1980). In the classroom situation, teachers convey attitudes that frequently are manifested not only by what they verbalize to children, but also how they say it. According to Kostelnik et al. (1988), the components of a verbal environment include verbalization and silence. The manner in which these interactions are enacted can be characterized as either positive or negative, thus dictating children's estimations of self-worth (Kostelnik, et al., 1988; Swayze, 1980).

Characteristics of a Negative Verbal Environment

The negative verbal environment is one in which, as a direct result of verbal interactions with adults (teachers), children are made to feel "unworthy, incompetent, unlovable or insignificant" (Kostelnik et al., 1988, p. 30). Such environments exist when teachers engage in such interactions as screaming at children, making fun of them, or swearing at them. Less obvi-

ous behaviors that contribute to negative environments include such interactions as the adult showing little or no interest in the child's activities, not responding to the child when he/she is speaking to the adult, ignoring times designed for teacher-student interactions, or the adult is found to be speaking with colleagues rather than paying attention to the child. Another common adult behavior which contributes to negative verbal environments exists when teachers pay superficial attention to children. Rather that listening attentively, they fail to make eye contact, cut children off, walk away from the child, or answer inappropriately (Kostelnik et al., 1988).

A third behavior which is regarded as contributing to negative verbal environments and thus negative teacher-student interactions occurs when adults speak discourteously to children. They may interrupt children who are speaking, fail to say please and thank you, speak in a demanding or impatient voice, or use sarcastic tones when addressing the children. In such an environment, teachers may actively discourage children from talking to them. Adults communicate these feelings to children when they make statements such as "All right already, I'm tired of hearing about it." or "Hush," or "Tell me later."

Another behavior which is typical of a negative verbal environment is teachers asking rhetorical questions. Typical inquiries might include such statements as, "What do you think you're doing?", "Didn't I tell you to stop that?" Regardless of how a child may chose to respond or defend his/her actions, responses are considered disrespectful. In such circumstances, the child soon learns to remain silent and not interact at all. In such environments teachers' interactions with children are frequently the ones in which demands are placed upon the children. Verbalizations consist mainly of directions and few other comments are made. Kostelnik et al. (1988) further suggest that if teachers monopolize verbal interactions rather than provide opportunities for children to discuss ideas, children have little or no opportunity to initiate conversations with adults or peers, thus further conveying to the child that his/her thoughts are unimportant (Kostelnik et al., 1988). All of the above verbal behaviors and interactions between teachers and children serve to leave children feeling inadequate, confused, angry, and frustrated (Clark, 1983; Kostelnik et al., 1988; Torrance, 1963, 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). On the other hand, the converse exists within an environment which is conducive to positive verbal interaction (Denny, 1968; Jacobs, 1984; Kostelnik et al., 1988; Rusch et al., 1965, 1967; Torrance & Myers, 1970).

Characteristics of a Positive Verbal Environment

In a positive verbal environment the attention of the adult is focused on both the content of the verbalizations and the affective impact the interaction will have upon the child. In other words, teachers must be aware of

what they are saying and how they are saying it (Kostelnik et al., 1988). Both verbal and non-verbal interactions play a significant role in the perceptions of students (Arnold & Roach, 1989). Adults create a positive (verbal interactive) environment when they show affection and interest in children by the verbal interactions they have with them (Kostelnik et al., 1988; Torrance, 1963, 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). This is achieved when teachers exhibit such behaviors as greeting children upon their arrival to class, becoming engaged in their activities, generating inquires, and responding directly to children. Moreover, such teachers remark upon the efforts of children in positive manners. For example, they may comment on a child's work by saying, "I can see you are really improving. You have been working very hard." A second means of creating a positive verbal environment exists when teachers send congruent verbal and non-verbal messages to children. When the teacher is engaged in an interaction with a child, he/she maintains eye contact, and thoroughly pays attention to that child. Other non-verbal interactions, such as smiling and hugging, reinforce positive verbal interactions (Harrington, 1987; Kostelnil et al., 1988; Torrance, 1963, 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). In such a positive environment, the teacher asks open-ended questions of the children, listens attentively to what the child is saying, and encourages elaboration of ideas (sustain feedback) by asking additional questions (Bond & Bonds, 1990; Clark 1983, Harrington, 1982; Jacobs, 1984; Torrance & Myers 1970). To further stimulate teacher-student interactions, the adult should use children's interests as a basis for conversation. Children become the total focus of the adult's attention in positive environments. Adults do not engage in housekeeping tasks or personal socialization so that they may be fully available for interactions with the children at all times (Kostelnik et al., 1988).

Importance of a Positive Verbal Environment

Children's self-perceptions of competence and worth are enhanced in positive verbal environments (Openshaw, 1978). When children are provided with the opportunities to interact with both peers and adults, their self-awareness increases (Kostelnik et al., 1988). The adult behaviors which characterize a positive verbal environment–warmth, acceptance, respect, and empathy–are the same behaviors that have been regarded as promoting an atmosphere conductive to facilitating the creative potential in children (Denny, 1968; Torrance 1981; Torrance & Myers 1970). Support for this notion is offered by Jacobs (1984), in which he states:

> In children's lives environment always plays a significant role, and persons play a major part in the nature of the environment... a poised, dynamic teacher and a pleasant relationship with peers make school a desirable place

to be and to learn. The teacher, as environment, sets the tone for the learning experiences during the school year, and thus encourages or discourages creativity (p. 102).

SUMMARY

The problems that confront our society today will require unique and novel solutions, which will be the result of creative thinking and problem solving (Moran, Sawyers & Moore, 1988). Theorists (e.g., Torrance, 1962; Guilford, 1959) offer definitions of creativity that suggest that creativity can be learned, and thus it can be taught, which is supported by Plucker (1999) and Plucker and Renzulli (1999). They report that studies on creativity support the foundation for creativity training programs in education (Plucker, 1999; Plucker & Renzulli, 1999).

Although research suggest that every child is born with creative potential (Torrance & Myers, 1970), this potential is frequently stifled by adults that the child interacts with daily, including parents and teachers. Research indicates that the creative abilities of children can be fostered by these adults (Pellegrini, 1984-1985; Torrance, 1963, 1965; Torrance & Myers, 1970). Teachers can facilitate the development of creative thinking abilities in children by the environment they create for students and by the interactions in which they engage. It appears that the interactions between teachers and students (adults and children) are the catalysts that contribute to the probability that creative thinking potentials will or will not flourish in the development of children.

To date, limited research has directly examined the relationships between the creative abilities of teachers and children and the verbal interactions in which they engage. These are important relationships which need to be examined. They are especially important with young children, because they are particularly affected by their interactions with teachers. Research in the areas of teachers' creative abilities and verbal interactions can make a difference in young children's learning.

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CHAPTER 9

TEACHERS' COGNITIVE STYLES AND THEIR INSTRUCTIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Olivia N. Saracho

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have been concerned about the teachers' performance in the classroom and about how to improve their performance. Teachers' effective performance requires them to think about what they do before, during, and after their actions; thus, constructing an intellectual foundation for their performance (Saracho, 1988a). One component of cognitive functioning that researchers have studied extensively is cognitive style.

Cognitive styles are a consistent way individuals organize (Riding & Rayner, 1998) and refine information (Saracho, 1999). They have extended and organized qualities that affect the individuals' reactions to different situations (Anastasi, 1996) and a broad realm of behaviors, which Riding (1997) and Riding and Rayner (1998) have authenticated. Arm-

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strong and Priola (2001) report that cognitive style may provide individuals the ability to carry out these mechanisms in diverse, possibly idiosyncratically ways. Cognitive styles are different from intelligence (Riding & Pearson, 1994; Riding & Agrell, 1997); they are more analogous to personality measures (Riding & Wigley, 1997). Researchers provide evidence to show that individuals have a variety of personality characteristics that they use to think and process information differently (Gadzella, 1999), which relates personality traits to cognitive style.

COGNITIVE STYLES

Studies identify several forms of cognitive styles that overlap with each other. Messick (1970) outlines nine forms of cognitive styles (see Table 1), indicating the individuals' stylistic differences.

Each form of cognitive style can be measured along a continuum. While there are similarities among them, there are differences among them, and they need to be considered exclusive from one another. A form of cognitive style that describes the teachers and students' performance in their classrooms is field dependence independence (FDI), which is the one that has been the most extensively examined and has had the most comprehensive relevance to educational issues (Saracho, 1998, 1999, 2001; Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough, & Karp, 1974; Witkin, Lewis, Hertzman, Machover, Meissner, & Wapner, 1972).

The teachers' cognitive styles intermingle with distinct factors in the classroom and have an impact on educational practice, embodying "how students learn, how teachers teach, how teachers and students interact, and how students make their educational choices" (Witkin, Moore, Goodenough, & Cox, 1977, p. 2). This chapter describes:

1. the field dependence/ independence cognitive style dimension,
2. studies that explore the interactive effects of teachers' and students' field dependent (FD) and field independent (FI) cognitive styles, and
3. ways to assist teachers in enriching their teaching performance.

FIELD DEPENDENCE/INDEPENDENCE (FDI) COGNITIVE STYLE

FDI is an important form of cognitive style. It describes the individuals' perceptual style, personality, intelligence, and social behavior. FI individuals show more psychosocial acts throughout interpersonal relationships (Armstrong, 1999, 2000; Armstrong & Priola, 2001). They communicate

TABLE 1
Nine Cognitive Styles

1. *Field independence vs. field dependence*: an analytical, in contrast to a global, way of perceiving [which] entails a tendency to experience items as discrete from their backgrounds and reflects ability to overcome the influence of an embedding context.
2. *Scanning*: a dimension of individual differences in the extensiveness and intensity of attention deployment, leading to individual variations in the vividness of experience and the span of awareness.
3. *Breadth of categorizing*: Consistent preferences for broad inclusiveness, as opposed to narrow exclusiveness, in establishing the acceptable range for specified categories.
4. *Conceptualizing styles*: individual differences in the tendency to categorize perceived similarities and differences among stimuli in terms of many differentiated concepts, which is a dimension called conceptual differentiation, as well as consistencies in the utilization of particular conceptualizing approaches as bases for forming concepts (such as the routine use in concept formation of thematic or functional relations among stimuli as opposed to the analysis of descriptive attributes or the inference of class membership).
5. *Cognitive complexity vs. simplicity*: individual differences in the tendency to construe the world, and particularly the world of social behavior, in a multidimensional and discriminating way.
6. *Reflectiveness vs. impulsivity*: individual consistencies in the speed with which hypotheses are selected and information processed, with impulsive subjects tending to offer the first answer that occurs to them, even though it is frequently incorrect, and reflective subjects tending to ponder various possibilities before deciding.
7. *Leveling vs. sharpening*: reliable individual variations in assimilation in memory. Subjects at the leveling extreme tend to blur similar memories and to merge perceived objects or events with similar but not identical events recalled from previous experience. Sharpeners, at the other extreme, are less prone to confuse similar objects and, by contrast, may even judge the present to be less similar to the past than is actually the case.
8. *Constricted vs. flexible control*: individual differences in susceptibility to distraction and cognitive interference.
9. *Tolerance for incongruous or unrealistic experiences*: a dimension of differential willingness to accept perceptions at variance with conventional experience.

Notes: From N. Kogan. Educational implications of cognitive styles. In G. S. Lesser (Ed.) *Psychology and educational practice.* Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971, p. 246. Reprinted by permission of the editor.

more pyschosocial functions throughout interpersonal relationships (Armstrong, 1999, 2000; Armstrong & Priola, 2001) and frequently learn precise and logical knowledge. FD and FI cognitive styles characterize definite modes that individuals use to process and refine information. FI individuals use internal referents to process and refine information, inasmuch as FD individuals concentrate on external referents. FD and FI individuals

have different methods of approaching complex and confusing experiences and of cognitively responding to numerous situations. FD individuals generate more social-emotional-oriented behaviors (Armstrong & Priola, 2001); whereas FI individuals choose a more structured, less ambiguous, and more oriented environment (Armstrong, 1999, 2000). FI individuals can structure an analytic assignment, while FD individuals succeed better in circumstances where learning is structured and analyzed for them. According to Armstrong and Priola (2001), FI adults have more task-oriented behaviors, which they assume are the result of the adult's work environment, which is probably structured and organized. FD adults adopt a 'spectator' approach to learning instead of the hypothesis-testing approach, which FI learners prefer. Basically, FI individuals experience the elements of a structured field analytically, as discrete from their background, and to impose structure on a relatively unstructured field. In comparison, FD individuals fail to succeed at this type of structured and analytic activity or recognize a Gestalt complex stimulus (Ford & Chen, 2001) since it is not a global stimulus. FDI studies demonstrate that multiple-channel messages that direct attention to important cues assist FD individuals, whereas distracting and unrelated cues present interference and impose demands on the confined pool of cognitive resources (Daniels & Moore, 2000). Saracho and Spodek (1981) provide a comparison of the FD and FI individuals' cognitive style characteristics (see Table 2).

The FD and FI characteristics occur in a continuum between extremes for most individuals. The FD and FI individuals' behaviors are considerably continual and extensively enduring. Considerable research evidence indicate that cognitive style influences the teachers' instruction and the students' learning.

TEACHERS' FDI INSTRUCTIONAL STYLES

Teachers' and students' concepts of classroom learning environments are receiving increasing attention in the field. Dart, Burnett, and Purdie (2000) report a relationship between an absorbing means to learning and achievement strategy with teaching support, structure and cohesiveness, independence in learning, and preparation for higher education (positive learning climate variables). Apparent means and achievement factors focus on formal achievement, which is stimulated by a classroom learning environment that has high levels of personalization, participation, and investigative learning skills. Apparently, the three dimensions of the environment substantially relate to each other (Dart et al., 2000). An absorbing means to learning relates to constructivist teaching, where students actively create knowledge for themselves. In contrast, an apparent means to learning (Tang, 1998) relates to the traditional transmission model of teaching

where teachers transfer information to students who assume passive roles (Dart et al., 2000). Teachers' and students' concepts of classroom learning environments are receiving increasing attention in the field.

Teachers respond to their students in their personal distinctive manner. The teachers' cognitive style influences their teaching style, attaining a "format preference" that affects their distinguishing characteristics (Riding & Read, 1996). Effective teachers consider a realm of teaching strategies and choose the most appropriate ones for the instructional undertakings and content according to their cognitive style (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). FD and FI teachers cull distinct teaching strategies, manage their classroom students uniquely, and display unique patterns of instructional behaviors according to their predominant FD and FI cognitive style. For example, Saracho (1988a) provides the following descriptions of a FD and FI teacher:

TABLE 2
Comparison Between Field Dependent and Field-Independent Individuals

	Field Dependent Individuals		*Field Independent Individuals*
1.	rely on the surrounding perceptual field;	1.	perceive objects as separate from the field;
2.	experience their environment in a relatively global fashion by conforming to the effects of the prevailing field or context;	2.	can abstract an item from the surrounding field and solve problems that are presented and reorganized in different contexts;
3.	are dependent on authority;	3.	experience an independence from authority which leads them to depend on their own standards and values;
4.	search for facial cues in those around them as a source of information;	4.	are oriented towards active striving;
5.	are strongly interested in people;	5.	appear to be cold and distant;
6.	get closer to the person with whom they are interacting;	6.	are socially detached but have analytic skills;
7.	have a sensitivity to others which helps them to acquire social skills;	7.	are insensitive to others, lacking social skills;
8.	prefer occupations which require involvement with others.	8.	prefer occupations that allow them to work by themselves (p. 154).

Notes: From: Saracho, O. N., & Spodek, B. (1981). Teachers' cognitive styles and their educational implications. *Educational Forum, 45,* 153-159.

A FD Teacher

Ms. Carlson is a kindergarten teacher. As a result of her scores on the Group Embedded Figures Test (Witkin, Oltman, Raskin, & Karp, 1971), Articulation of the Body-Concept Scale (Witkin et al., 1974), and the Goodenough-Harris Drawing Test (Harris, 1963; Saracho, 1984, 1985, 1986), she has been characterized as an extremely field-dependent person. Every morning Ms. Carlson greets her students at the door with a smile, a hug, and a query about their family affairs. For example, in greeting John, she hugs him and asks him about his baby sister. She helps the children with their lunch boxes and other personal belongings.

The first activity in Ms. Carlson's classroom is "sharing time," where all children share their most important experience or object. She encourages all of the children to engage in conversation. Then they discuss the activities in each learning center and her expectations of the children for each activity. At this point, she gives the children important facts they need to know. For instance, they will assume different roles in the dramatic play area, where a grocery store has been set up. She gives them specific directions on the steps to follow when they enter the store, look for the items they need, remove items from the shelf, look at the prices, check their money, and pay the clerk.

The children play in activity centers for about an hour each morning. During this time, Ms. Carlson circulates within the class and interacts with the children. Just before quitting time, she places her hand on each child's shoulder and informs him or her that the period is almost over. Then she assembles the children in a circle and they discuss their experiences during the morning (pp. 175-176).

A FI Teacher

Ms. Gonzales is also a kindergarten teacher. Based on her scores on the same tests as Ms. Carlson took, she has been characterized as an extremely field-independent person. When children arrive in the classroom early in the morning, they place their personal belongings in the appropriate places and move their name tags on the magnetic board, to show they have arrived. Each learning center in the room is labeled and includes specific instructions for independent activities. At nine o'clock, Ms. Gonzales checks the magnetic board and records the names of the children who are present. As she rings a bell, the children take their places at the work tables. She then provides brief instructions about what is available at the learning centers. She tells them to watch the clock; when the little hand

has moved to the next number (10), they must return to their chairs at the work tables.

The activities at the learning centers encourage problem solving. At the sand and water table, for example, children can measure sand and water in a variety of containers. There are also a number of different objects available near a water basin for children to use in determining which sink and which float. The children record their observations and check them against feedback from the teacher.

While the children are working, the teacher observes them and records their behavior in the different activities. At ten o'clock, she rings the bell and the children return to their places. Ms. Gonzales talks to them about their performance, correcting their mistakes. She believes that if children are told what they did wrong, children will learn from their mistakes and will not make them again (p. 176).

The teachers' degree of FDI determines the FD and FI teachers' selection of their instructional strategies, materials, and interactions. For instance, FI teachers are content oriented; whereas FD teachers are more personally orientated (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001; Witkin et al., 1977). FD teachers encourage more discussion and discovery techniques to cultivate interpersonal bonds, because they focus on social goals. In contrast, FI teachers tend to lecture, an approach that diminishes interpersonal interactions; because they take a direct instructional approach (Saracho, 1987, 1993 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). They extract from their experiences, rely on classic principles, and employ mediators during instruction. Apparently, the teachers' cognitive style determine the way they use lectures or discovery methods, obtain questions or responses, promote the teaching or learning process, organize their classroom, and interact with their students (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001).

Cognitive style affects the teachers' classroom behaviors including their interactions with others and preferences for a more social or a more abstract curriculum content (Saracho, 1989b, 1997). FD teachers prefer to interact with their students face-to-face and in groups that have a few number of students, while FI teachers interact academically with their students using the entire class (Mahlios, 1981, 1990). Hence, FD teachers teach in small groups, inasmuch as FI teachers teach the entire class as a group.

INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

Teachers' cognitive style influences their selection of instructional strategies, which differs for FD and FI teachers. FD teachers assess students' learning by posing questions when they complete an instructional period (Moore, 1973; Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001), instruct students through class discussions, (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001; Emmer-

ich, Oltman, & MacDonald, cited in Witkin et al., 1977), and adopt mild social control strategies (Stone, 1976). FI teachers use lectures, explanations, discussions, and questions during their instruction. They employ questions as instructional tools to present new lessons and to respond to students' reactions (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001; Emmerich et al., cited in Witkin et al., 1977; Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). FD teachers solicit factual answers, while FI teachers solicit analytic and academic responses (Mahlios, 1981, 1990). FD and FI teachers differ in their academic interactions including the context of their interactions with students, conceptual level of instructional activity, and their feedback. FD teachers interact with each student and in small groups, inasmuch as FI teachers interact academically with the whole class (Mahlios, 1981, 1990; Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). FD teachers involve their students in framing their learning endeavors, while FI teachers exclude them. FD teachers direct their students to implement principles. FD and FI teachers use different types of reinforcement. FI teachers use negative assessments by giving the students correct feedback to respond to the students' inaccurate responses and explaining the students' fundamental mistakes to cultivate the students' learning (Emmerich et al., cited in Witkin et al., 1977). When students are not able to respond with accurate answers, FI teachers retaliate with corrective feedback statements; but when students respond with accurate answers, FI teachers give them feedback by expanding on the students' responses.

In respect to classroom management, FD teachers stress behavioral authority in the classroom (Ekstrom, 1976). Their routine is more instructional domination, management, evaluation, activities, and supervision in the classroom. On the other hand, FI teachers cultivate more classroom independence (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). FD and FI teachers deviate in their mode of instruction for the differentiated grade levels and subject areas. Academic subjects (e.g., mathematics, science, architecture, engineering, social work) require individuals to use FI cognitive style characteristics (e.g., analytical/structuring competence or a social orientation); whereas fields in social science require individuals to use FD cognitive style characteristics (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001; Witkin et al., 1977). Studies show that FI students perform better in mathematics, sciences, engineering, and architecture than do FD students (McCutcheon, Schmidt, & Bolden, 1991; Witkin et al., 1977). Saracho (1995) supports these results in children ages three to five. She shows that FD four-year-old children prefer physical, block, and dramatic play, while FI five-year-old children prefer manipulative play. In contrast, FI three-year-old children disfavor physical and dramatic play while FI four-year-old children disfavor block and manipulative play. Thus, FD and FI teachers choose the teaching styles that are applicable to the demands of the instructional undertaking (Ekstrom, 1976; Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). Table 3 summarizes the FD and FI teachers' approaches to instruction.

TABLE 3
FD and FI Teachers' Instructional Approaches

FD Teachers	*FI Teachers*
1. plan warm and personal surroundings;	1. plan socially detached surroundings;
2. Induce the students to determine their own goals and lead their won learning;	2. induce and concentrate on student learning;
3. capitalize on discussion to motivate the student learning	3. capitalize on lectures to motivate the student learning;
4. interact with students in a personal manner;	4. interact with students in an impersonal manner;
5. aim toward concrete instructional components;	5. aim towards abstract instructional components;
6. pursue affective elements	6. pursue cognitive elements.

Notes: Adapted from Saracho, O. N. (1989b). The early childhood teachers' cognitive styles and their instructional behaviors. *Early Child Development and Care, 49,* 94-109.

Studies indicate that teachers opt for instructional approaches that are compatible with their cognitive styles. Cognitive styles have an impact on the individuals' cognitive *preferences* (their likes and conditions), *motivation,* and *personality* (Good & Stipek, 1983). They influence *how* teachers teach instead of *how effectively* they teach (Saracho, 1997). In addition, cognitive styles affect *how* students learn instead of *what* they learn or their ability (Good & Stipek, 1983).

Teachers of young children also select their instruction based on their FD or FI cognitive style. Saracho (1987) concludes that FD kindergarten teachers assign simple, short, and concrete activities; whereas FI teachers assign self-explanatory and self-corrected activities. FD teachers adopt a student-centered approach, but FI teachers focus on their principles. Mahlios (1990) reports that FI teachers choose lecture and discovery methods, inasmuch as FD teachers choose class discussions by means of private dyadic interactions. Lecturing is an impersonal instructive approach. In contrast, FI teachers capitalize on direct questioning strategies but disclaim and attack students' responses. FI teachers draw upon questions to initiate topics after the students' responses (Mahlios, 1990). Saracho (1987) shows similar results with the FD and FI teachers' responses to their kindergarten students' reactions. FD teachers neglect to specifically assess the students' responses but show their rejection of incorrect responses and disregard accurate responses by continuing to the subsequent query. In comparison, FI teachers provide their students with ample time to reply to questions, provide them with cues, and motivate them to interpret accurate conclusions. They go on to the following question only when students are unable to respond to the question (Saracho, 1987).

FI teachers correct the students' incorrect responses and inform them the reasons that certain answers are inaccurate to promote their learning. FI teachers believe that corrective feedback provide students with sufficient knowledge to assist them in enhancing their performance. FI teachers apply feedback as an instructive procedure to coordinate and centralize the students' learning. They correct their students' errors by providing them with justifications for their errors. FI teachers criticize their students and make negative appraisals of them (Saracho, 1988a, 1993). Mahlios (1981) also shows that FI teachers give corrective feedback to promote their students' learning performance and criticize students who are functioning beneath their potential. Supposedly, the FD and FI teachers' instruction differ based on their FDI cognitive style. FD teachers present more direct instruction, practice or review skills and facts, and employ more physical instructional materials. Their instruction generally involves spot checking, asking and responding to questions, and drawing upon interactive practices to refocus and monitor their classroom surroundings (Saracho, 1987, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001; Stone, 1976).

The teachers' cognitive style is as critical as the students' cognitive style in teaching and learning. Since the teachers and students' FDI cognitive styles interact in the classroom, it is compelling to address the students' FDI cognitive style.

STUDENTS' FDI LEARNING STYLES

The students' learning style is reflected in their cognitive style. The FDI cognitive style reveals the learners' perceptual and processing characteristics, which influence the preferences and strategies they use to perceive, process, store, and recall information. FD students have more difficulty reorganizing information, attending to salient cues, and imposing structure on information when there is none present than do FI students (Daniels & Moore, 2000). De Bello (1990) assumes that learning style denotes the way individuals merge and conserve information, although Keefe (1986) believes that learning style incorporates the students' cognitive, affective, and physiological behaviors that facilitate the learners' perception of, interaction with, and responses to the learning milieu. Clarke and Dart (1994) introduce an expedient means to adapt components of learning models into personal and environmental factors by categorizing cognitive and affective components. Dart and associates (2000) present a lesson in a learning environment climate that focuses on problem-solving activities and that cultivates the development of several cognitive skills. They assume that a classroom climate can exist where interpersonal conflicts can be solved in a way that students' feelings of self-worth are developed and conserved; that is, the environment also influences the affective dimension. Consequently, both cognitive and affective factors of the classroom environ-

ment can influence learning behavior (Dart et al., 2000). In Riding and Fairhurst's (2001) study, teachers rate the students' classroom conduct behavior and home background. The students who have characteristics which are similar to those of FD students show the worst behavior. This result is supported by Riding and Burton (1998). Riding and Craig (1998) assume that these students have a weaker internal structural view of things than do analytic FI students, which suggests that they are likely to have lower self-control. Dart and associates (2000) show important relationships between conceptions and approaches to learning. Students who have qualitative inklings and adopt experiential learning inklings tend to use deep approaches to learning, which may delete those inklings of using surface approaches. A positive relationship exists between quantitative inklings and deep approaches to learning. In contrast, students who have quantitative inklings of learning may use surface approaches (Dart et al., 2000).

Educational researchers show that beliefs about knowledge acquisition differ from student to student especially in relation to which knowledge they believe is certain, simple, acquired quickly, and without limit. Some knowledge suggests that several students assume that knowledge is certain and indisputable, inasmuch as other students assume the more sophisticated notion that knowledge is conditional and inclined to alteration (Phillips, 1999). Recently, researchers are focusing on students' concepts. As a result, they show that students' conceptions of learning influence their learning outcomes (Dart et al., 2000). According to Gibbs (1995), "the connection between these underlying conceptions of learning and the approach students take to specific learning tasks is so strong that it is possible to predict the quality of learning outcomes directly from students' conceptions of learning" (p. 23). Students organize and use various types of information (Saracho, 1989a) as well as accommodate and process information (Shade, 1990), depending on their FD and FI cognitive style. Hall (1988) indicates that generally FI students function better on simultaneous processing tasks, where they coordinate information in a wholistic style. Learning and perceiving processes using a wholistic style is analogous to the FDI cognitive style where individuals process information in their surroundings. For example, FD students favor material with social content, whereas FI students prefer material with impersonal content (Saracho & Spodek, 1981, 1986; Witkin & Moore, 1974). For example, Saracho (1997) provides the following experiences of a FD and FI student:

FD Student

Observation 1:

[Darron is "cooking" by himself in the housekeeping area. He then walks to another section of the room, watches some children, gets the

"Legos" and returns to the housekeeping area. He pretends to build. Then he is joined by Isaac.]

Darron: I'm making a computer, Isaac.
Isaac: I know.
[Isaac hands a rectangular shaped block to Darron.]
Darron: It's remote control.
Isaac: No, it's not.
Darron: Yes, it's remote control, Isaac.

Discussion:

Darron is playing in a social area (housekeeping) where social interaction (a FD behavior) occurs to a greater extent. He engages with the computer in a concrete way (making a pretend computer rather than using one). His FD mismatch peer (Isaac) using analytic materials (rectangle).

Observation 2:

[Darron is playing "Memory" with Ida, Don and Ira. Irma is watching.]

Ira: Don, it's your go.
Darron: No, don't go. She's bothering us.
Irma: I'm not doing anything.
Don: Yea, look [pointing to a camera].
Darron: No, not she, she [pointing to Irma].
Irma: I'm telling on you all.
Don All right. You're not, you're not, you're not.
Darron: Come on! Now we're all gonna get in trouble.
Don: She always tell on somebody who says something.
Darron: She always tells.
Don: Yea, who needs her?
Ira: Oh!
Don: All right, we need her, we need her.
Darron: Let's play.
Ira: It's my turn.
Darron: No, it's Don's turn.
Ira: Go, Don.
[Ida picks a card for Don.]
Ira: No.
Ida: You can't do that. That's not fair. You can't pick for Don. It's not your turn. Put that back.
Don: Cause Ida can't pick you when it's not your turn.
[Irving walks over.]
Darron [to Don]: Pick a card.
[Don tries to pick.]
Darron: No, that's wrong.
Ira: I can't concentrate.
Darron: I didn't want that. You see what you made me do? You bother us.
[Irving walks away.]

Darron: Let's start all over.
[Darron begins to sing. Don sorts cards. Darron wilts them.]
Darron [to Don]: Then you're not playing.
[Don gives the cards to Darron.]
Darron: I go.
[He picks what looks like a zebra.]

Discussion:

Darron and Don are having a conflict with Irma. In the FDI literature of mismatch dyads (Oltman, Goodenough, Witkin, Freedman & Friedman, 1975) the FI persons are more often aggressive. Irma is very assertive when she bothers the other children and plans to tell on them. Darron uses a global defense (denial) when he blames another child for what he did such as when he says that he didn't want to do that, but someone made him do it (pp. 61-62).

FI Student

Observation 1:

During breakfast, Ida stands and speaks with Ilse and Isaac, then walks to the center of the room where a box of unifix blocks is on the floor. Some of the blocks are arranged in a 2x2x4 tower. Ida adds blocks to expand the tower to a 2x2x6 with one block on top. She then pretends to paint the tower with a paint brush that is in the box of blocks. She stops, looks around the classroom, and takes three more blocks from the box she pretends to paint.

Discussion:

Ida only interacts with FI peers who match her cognitive style and engages in FI oriented activities (such as blocks, pretending in an abstract way to paint).

Observation 2:

[Ida is playing in the housekeeping area next to Darron and Don. Don has a toy in his hand, while Ida has the wheel to the toy. Ida takes the toy away from Don. Ms. Dreyfuss walks past this area.]

Ida: The wheel fell off.
Ms. Dreyfuss: That's okay.
[Ida tries to fix the toy and is not successful. Therefore, she leaves it on the table and goes to stand next to Ms. Ibsen (the other teacher). Since Ms. Ibsen is speaking to someone, Ida walks away and goes to get a musical instrument made of paper towel rolls. Ida is playing a card game with Ilse. Neither child

says anything. Ida shuffles the cards. Ilse takes the cards from the box. Ida looks around the classroom and then faces Ilse and picks a card.]
Ilse: [shaking her head]: No.
[Ilse picks another card.]

Discussion:

Ida engages in a social activity with two peers who do not match her cognitive style. This behavior is similar to the one reported in the FDI literature of mismatch dyads (Oltman et al., 1975) which shows that FI persons are more aggressive, Ida appears to be very assertive when she takes a toy away from her mismatch peer to attempt to solve the problem by fixing the toy.

Ida then walks away from her mismatch peer and attempts to attract the attention of the FI teacher who matches her cognitive style. As a FI person who is insensitive to others, the FI teacher is unaware of Ida's search for attention. Ida then goes to play cards, a FI activity, with a matched peer in a FI way (no social interactions occurred) (pp. 54-55).

FI students benefit from learning material that lacks structure and organization. In comparison, FD students benefit from learning material that: (1) is organized and structured, (2) has detailed instructions in problem-solving procedures, and (3) clearly delineates performance outcomes. Saracho (1991) examines the FD and FI students' systematic selection for task-oriented or socially oriented characteristics of teachers. Her results indicate that the teachers' cognitive style influences the students' preferences such as the following:

1. FD teachers need to teach abstract topics.
2. FD teachers need to enjoy teaching.
3. FD teachers need to be less personal and social.
4. FI teachers need to be more social and work more closely with students.

These outcomes suggest that teachers develop characteristics that are beyond their repertoire as reflected in their predominant cognitive style. Her study reveals that students like for more FI teachers to acquire more FD characteristics but for more FD teachers to acquire more FI characteristics. According to Armstrong and Priola (2001), cognitive style characteristics may communicate defining sets of categories to describe units of interactions that are simply task or non-task in nature. For example, Armstrong and Priola (2001) report that team members choose FD individuals instead of FI analytic individuals to be their team leaders. They believe that individuals may feel that the more FD team members possess relatively more task and social-emotional oriented behaviors. Learning style theory bears in mind the distinctive individual variations while simultaneously focusing on the divergence of the circumstances, styles, and surroundings of each individual.

INTEGRATING COGNITIVE STYLES IN THE TEACHERS' PREPARATION

Teacher preparation institutions need to address the role of cognitive style in teaching (Saracho, 1997; Stone, 1976). Although cognitive style has been extensively studied, pedagogical principles have been obscured or neglected in teacher preparation programs. Ample research data assert that cognitive style establishes how teachers teach and students learn; therefore, it is essential that teacher education institutions integrate the teachers' cognitive style in their preparation curriculum (Saracho, 1989b).

Teacher preparation programs can incorporate the teachers' cognitive styles into the curriculum of professional preparation programs (Pettigrew & Buell, 1989; Saracho, 1989b, 1997). According to Saracho (1989b, 1997), prospective teachers need to learn, understand, and accept the FD and FI cognitive style characteristics by acquiring knowledge about both FD and FI philosophies and drawing on experiences that are consistent with both FD and FI cognitive styles. Prospective teachers can learn instructional approaches that are agreeable to their cognitive style and they can learn approaches that differ from their preferred cognitive style. Teacher preparation institutions can design a curriculum where FD prospective teachers learn analytic skills and independence, whereas FI prospective teachers learn social skills and sensitivity to others (Saracho, 1989b, 1997; Saracho & Spodek, 1981, 1986).

CONCLUSION

The FDI construct describes the individuals' manner of perceiving, remembering, thinking, apprehending, storing, transforming and processing information, having an impact on how teachers teach, students learn, and teachers and students interact. Professional preparation curricula need to provide prospective teachers with knowledge about cognitive styles and teaching/learning experiences that can help them to determine and adapt the different cognitive styles in their classroom (Pettigrew & Buell, 1989; Saracho, 1989b, 1997). Both knowledge of and experiences relating to cognitive styles need to be integrated into the teacher preparation curriculum, concentrating on both FD and FI cognitive styles to be competent in addressing all of the students' individual differences. Prospective teachers are in the unique situation to guide the students' learning and to be especially sensitive to the way they receive and process information by choosing appropriate instructional strategies (Pettigrew & Buell, 1989; Saracho, 1989b, 1997).

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CHAPTER 10

SENSEI
Early Childhood Education Teachers in Japan

Susan D. Holloway and Yoko Yamamoto

Why should American early childhood educators study the preparation and practices of teachers—*sensei*—in Japan? One reason is to identify "best practices" that may be relevant and useful for American schools. The Japanese preschool and child-care systems serve nearly all of the nation's children. The elementary schools have received international praise for supporting achievement while honoring the "whole child," a goal shared by many Americans (Lewis, 1995). But this is not the only reason, although perhaps it is the most commonly given one, for studying another society as successful as Japan has been.

A second reason is to get a fresh perspective on the operation of a market-oriented approach to early education. Unlike the case in many European countries, where a centralized system of child care fosters uniformity across regions within each nation, the Japanese system is a mixture of private and public institutions. Public preschools receive funding from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (hereafter referred to as the Ministry of Education), and while individual institutions

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are given substantial latitude in creating their own programs, the ministry actively attempts to shape curriculum to conform with current pedagogical expertise. There are also many private preschools that subsist mostly on tuition. In light of the declining birth rate, private preschools have to be responsive to families—the customer—in order to stay competitive. This mixed market resembles the likely future of early education in the United States, as federal and state governments become more involved in funding preschool programs, and as charter schools and private schools, funded through vouchers as well as tuition, continue to grow.

A third compelling reason to study the early childhood education system in another country is to develop a clearer perspective on how cultural models guide the approach to education and child rearing taken in a society. It is often difficult to identify how cultural models are embedded in one's own system because these tacit beliefs and behavioral strategies appear "natural" or "normal" rather than collectively constructed. But comparative analyses encourage educators to see their own practices as objects of reflection and examination. Awareness of the ways in which one's own views of education and socialization are culturally rooted is a crucial first step in creating a program that is supportive of children from diverse cultural or ethnic backgrounds (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997).

In this chapter, we examine the early childhood educator in Japan. To do so, we must consider three different systems: preschools, child-care centers and elementary schools. We will first provide an overview of those three systems, and then describe teaching as a career in Japan. The second section of the chapter examines teachers' beliefs and practices; in particular we look at how teachers construct relationships with their students, how they use groups and individual activities, the ways in which routines are taught, the nature and function of evaluation, and the role of teachers in supporting social class and gender distinctions. We conclude with a discussion of the relationships between teachers and parents.

OVERVIEW OF JAPANESE PRESCHOOLS AND CHILD-CARE CENTERS

In Japan, 95% of children attend some form of preprimary school for at least one year. Of these, the vast majority attend for two years and nearly half attend a full three years (Moriue, 2000). This pattern contrasts strongly with the situation in the United States, where only 26% of children are enrolled in a child-care center or preschool (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1998).

There are two systems for preschool aged children in Japan. *Youchien*, or preschools, are operated under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. They serve children aged 3 through 5, and are intended primarily to pro-

vide social and educational stimulation rather than full time care for children of working parents. Accordingly, the daily program extends for five hours or less, although close to half of private preschools offer an optional extended day program (Moriue, 2000).

While subject to ministry oversight, many preschools are run as profit-making enterprises by private organizations or individuals. Overall, 56% of preschools are private. Private preschools tend to be larger, and often enroll three year olds, while public schools typically restrict enrollment either to four and five year olds, or five year olds only. In total, 79% of children enrolled in preschool attend private facilities (Moriue, 2000). In some municipalities, including the large city of Yokohama, virtually all the preschools are private. The number of children attending private preschool has risen steadily since the mid 1950s, when private preschools were the choice for 60% of children (Moriue, 1993).

A second system, operated by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, is intended to serve children of working mothers. *Hoikuen*, or child-care centers, provide full day care six days a week for children aged five and younger. *Hoikuen* have evolved from providing custodial care emphasizing safety and cleanliness to offering educationally oriented programs similar to that of preschools (Boocock, 1991; Shwalb et al., 1992). Educational requirements for staff are similar for preschool teachers and child-care providers. In fact, about 80% of child-care providers are certified to teach in preschools as well.

Early education programs are provided at a reasonable cost to families, with much of the expense paid by national and local government. Large class size also functions to keep costs low, particularly in preschools. In 1997, the average annual cost of attending a private preschool (excluding equipment fees) was roughly $2,200 (¥259,828); the annual tuition at public preschool was substantially lower, about $610 (¥69,842) (Moriue, 2000).

Throughout its 100 years of overseeing preschool education, the Ministry of Education has periodically issued guidelines specifying program content. The earliest guidelines specified four educational areas: play, song, speech, and handicrafts. Although descriptions of appropriate activities were provided for each area, preschool directors had considerable latitude in what they actually offered in their programs (Ishigaki, 1992). During the post war period, the guidelines covered the general areas of health and physical development, social relations, and appreciation of nature. The more recent guidelines, issued in 1989 and 1999, place substantial emphasis on self expression and encourage the use of individualized instruction in which children receive "appropriate guidance for a child's individual needs and...development[al] tasks" (Ishigaki, 1992, p. 131, 2000; for English version of current guidelines see Ministry of Education, 1998c). This represents quite a contrast to earlier guidelines, which emphasized learning such social competencies as "having the right attitude toward the surrounding social life and happenings" (Ishigaki, 1992, p. 127).

The extent to which a particular school adopts the ministry guidelines depends in part upon the values and philosophy of the director. Because public preschools depend on government funding, they are more tied to the ministry, and directors of these institutions appear to take the guidelines seriously, whereas this is not always the case among the private preschool directors. Compared to the elementary school system, Japanese preschools are relatively diverse in terms of philosophy, curriculum, size, and auspice (Boocock, 1989; Holloway, 2000b).

OVERVIEW OF EARLY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN JAPAN

Elementary schools in Japan begin in first grade, when children are six years old. The vast majority of children in Japan attend public elementary schools. The Ministry of Education has a strong role in regulating policies and procedures, including instructional goals, hours of instruction, and choice of textbooks (Lewis, 1995). Japanese teachers are usually required to teach in a number of different schools over the course of their careers, and are also moved among a variety of grade levels, although the most experienced teachers are often placed in the earliest grades (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). In order to strengthen their relations with students, teachers often remain with them for two years instead of switching every year.

The curriculum in the early elementary years contains a wide range of subjects, including math, Japanese, social studies, moral education, art, music, science, life environment studies, home economics, and physical education. Contrary to the stereotype held by many Americans, Japanese elementary schools do not focus solely on teacher-directed instruction in "basic" subjects. The curriculum in first grade has been described by Lewis (1995) as holistic: "Children's intellectual development is taken seriously—but so is their need for friendship, for connection to a caring classroom community, for wholehearted involvement in sports, music and art" (pp. 36-37). It should be noted, however, that the time spent on certain "basic" subjects—notably mathematics—is greater in Japan than in the United States. Stigler and Perry (1988) report that "in first grade, American, Chinese, and Japanese children spend 69.8 percent, 85.1 percent, and 79.2 percent of the time, respectively, engaged in academic activities" (p. 35).

The overall amount of time in school varies across these countries as well; until recently, Japanese children attended school for about 240 days per year compared to 180 in the United States. In 1981, the Ministry of Education called for a systematic reduction in the amount of Saturday instruction so that students would have more time to relax, socialize, and pursue their own interests; by 2002 all schools had switched completely to a five day school week by April 2002 (Ministry of Education, 1998a). All

students get a 40 day summer vacation, a 14 day winter vacation, and another 14 days of spring vacation. The move toward a system that provides more time for fun and relaxation—called *yutori kyouiku* in Japanese—has prompted much debate; some fear that under this restricted time frame, the schools will not be able to cover the material on the entrance examinations for high school and university entrance (Nishimura, 2001a, 2001b). Another concern is that wealthy parents will be even more likely to send their children to a tutor or after school program to augment the reduced classroom instruction, thereby depriving their children of the intended relaxation and creating an achievement gap between social class groups.

TEACHING AS A CAREER

Status of Teachers

Sensei, the Japanese term for teacher, is an honorable title in Japan. The dictionary definition of *sensei* is "a person who is knowledgeable or who is in a leading position" (Shinmura, 1969). *Sensei* also connotes a master who has authority because of accumulated experience and wisdom (Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996), and is commonly used for lawyers, doctors and politicians as well as classroom teachers at all levels. Preschool teachers are called *sensei*, and they are viewed as professionals. Shindo's study (1989) analyzing parent-teacher conferences found that parents view preschool teachers as experts in the area of child rearing.

Although teachers are increasingly criticized for contemporary societal problems, their status is still relatively high in Japan, where a great deal of social value is placed on education (N. Sato & McLaughlin, 1992). In their periodic assessment of Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM), Japanese sociologists have developed an index to indicate Japanese adults' perceptions of the status of various occupations. The scores range between 28.1 and 87.3. Preschool teachers and child-care providers both receive a score of 50.5, about the same as librarians and business consultants, and slightly below general office workers (51.6). Preschool teachers rank below teachers in primary school (62.9) (Tominaga, 1979).

In Japan, the vast majority (94.1%) of full-time preschool teachers are female, whereas in elementary schools, nearly 40% are men. The average age of preschool teachers nationwide is 31.2 years old and nearly 40% are under the age of 25. The average years of experience as a preschool teacher is 7.4 years. By contrast, only 11% of elementary school teachers are in their twenties (Moriue, 2000) and the average length of service is 17 years (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999).

Teacher Education

There are 96 colleges, 223 junior colleges, 66 graduate schools, and 45 other centers with government-approved programs in preschool teacher education. Most preschool teachers (86%) are graduates of junior college, and only 11% are college graduates (Moriue, 2000). In order to be a preschool teacher, one needs to obtain a teaching license; the license pursued by approximately 90% of teacher candidates requires taking 31 credits in education-related courses, including educational psychology, philosophy of education, piano, and methods classes in art and physical education. They also participate in a five unit practicum experience. The remaining 10% of teachers receive a higher level license, awarded only to graduates of four year colleges and master's programs.

There is some empirical evidence of the value of pre-service training at local school sites for preschool teachers. Miki and Sakurai (1998) documented gains in pre-service preschool teachers' perception of teaching efficacy following practicum experiences, as well as higher performance ratings by field supervisors. Similarly, a comparative study by Morey and colleagues (1993) of American and Japanese pre-service teachers found that practical experience assisted the development of a reflective approach to pedagogy in both countries.

The system for receiving a "qualification" to be a child-care provider in a *hoikuen* is slightly different. Many child-care providers have graduated from child welfare program in a government-approved University or college. The course work for child-care providers in such institutions is similar to that required of preschool teachers, and includes a 5 unit practicum experience. An alternate possibility is to take an examination administered by the prefecture; this option is available for those not enrolled in a teacher preparation program at the post secondary level. Most of those who sit for the examination have taken some related coursework in a vocational program or junior college, and have been employed as assistants in a child care center. The examination covers the areas of social welfare and child welfare, psychology and mental health; health, dietetics and physiology; educational theory and methods; and practical knowledge (Moriue, 2000).

Most elementary school teachers (81%) have a four-year undergraduate degree. It is possible to receive certification to teach in the elementary grades either by completing a university degree in teacher education, or by passing a national examination (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Certified teachers are appointed to a position by prefectural education boards acting on the recommendation of the superintendent of education. This selection process is extremely competitive; the number of qualified graduates who sought appointments in 1994 was 4.8 times the number of available positions (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999).

Teacher Salary Structure

Relative to American teachers, Japanese elementary and public preschool teachers are paid well. While there are some regional differences in pay scale, they are typically paid at a level equivalent to similarly educated peers in other fields. Novice preschool teachers earned roughly $1,500 a month on average in 1999, plus benefits and other allowances. If they are employed at a public school, female teachers' salaries are the same as that of male teachers, unlike conditions in the private sector (Moriue, 2000). Wages in private preschools vary more widely across regions and individual institutions. The directors of private preschools are most often men with little or no formal training in education (Tobin, Wū & Davidson, 1989). They wield a great deal of power in determining the terms of teachers' employment as well as everyday classroom activities. Some directors prefer to hire women without prior work experience because they are viewed as more flexible and easier to train regarding the procedures and objectives of a particular school (Holloway, 2000b). This preference for inexperienced teachers contributes to a low turnover rate, but constitutes a severe limitation on the ability of teachers to leave an unsatisfactory position.

The salary structure for Japanese elementary school teachers offers annual increments until retirement age which are not dependent on performance or level of responsibility. A teacher with 20 years of experience can expect to make twice as much as a beginning teacher (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Teachers' salary increases are smaller than those of individuals in other positions, however, creating a widening discrepancy over time between their salaries and those of their peers.

Characteristics of the Workday

Japanese teachers are expected to work long hours. Even in preschools, where the children may only be present for four or five hours a day, teachers work an 8 to 10 hour day. Furthermore, they are expected to be actively involved with the children at all times during the school day. They usually eat lunch with the children and participate fully in their outdoor games and activities. They rarely talk informally with their colleagues during school hours (Holloway, 2000b). In child-care centers, teachers are often responsible for cleaning the classroom as well; after lunch, for example, teachers can be seen on hands and knees wiping down the classroom floor in preparation for spreading out the futons for nap time. It is no accident that mothers view physical fitness as one of the primary attributes of a good preschool teacher (Kume, Tanba, & Tanaka, 1987). The time before and after the children are at school is filled with staff meetings, paperwork,

transporting the children to and from school, and preparing materials (Tobin et al., 1989). As Tobin and his colleagues write, "With long hours, large classes, and only average pay, it is no wonder that Japanese preschool teachers tend to burn out and retire after four or five years" (p. 69).

In elementary schools, the pay is better and ample time is allocated during the school day for preparation and meetings, but teachers also put in long hours after school, including monitoring after-school clubs and making home visits. While the children in elementary school have a total of 10 weeks off for vacation each year, teachers take much less. One study of teachers at all grade levels found that teachers on average take seven days of annual leave. While teachers were required to work 44 hours a week, they reported an average work week that was 55 hours long (Zenkyou, 1993, reported in Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Of that time, 26.5 hours was classroom teaching time, for the elementary school teachers. Not surprisingly, many teachers in Zenkyou's survey reported a feeling of being overworked and on the verge of burnout.

In-Service Training and Support of Teachers

Like their counterparts in other job sectors, Japanese teachers receive extensive support and numerous training opportunities. At an informal level, young teachers tend to be mentored by older ones. Teachers in the pre-primary institutions as well as in elementary school create a supportive network, with space and time allocated for ongoing discussions and mutual support (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Informal training opportunities, such as school workshops and voluntary study groups, have played a critical role in developing teachers' skills and have contributed to teachers' professional growth throughout the last century (M. Sato, 1992). It is estimated that roughly half of Japanese teachers participate in these activities, and perceive them to be one of the most useful resources for their growth as a teacher (Kinney, 1998; M. Sato, 1992). Nancy Sato (1993) reports that approximately two-thirds of professional journals for teachers are produced by practicing teachers, with the remaining one third written by university academics.

In addition to receiving this traditional form of informal assistance from colleagues, Japanese elementary teachers participate in a one year internship during their first year of teaching; at the elementary level, most interns are assigned the tasks of homeroom teachers, but additionally they are expected to participate in lectures and workshops outside schools and conduct observations in other schools and institutions (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Critics of the internship initiative, implemented in the elementary schools in 1989, argue that bureaucratic and formal training systems which focus on ideological knowledge and universal techniques limit teachers'

ability to make educational decisions and do not necessarily empower teachers' autonomy, ability, and intellectual freedom in the classroom (M. Sato, 1998). Some experienced teachers concur with the argument that the recent emphasis on formal training has not been as beneficial as the earlier, less formal approaches (Kinney, 1998).

The Japan Teachers' Union (JTU), established in 1947, has also provided training opportunities for teachers. However, the JTU has been steadily declining in membership and influence over the past fifty years. In 1958, 86% of teachers were members of the union, but in 1989 it split into two factions, representing the political left and right, and by 2000 just over 40% of teachers belonged to either group. And, only 29% of newly employed teachers joined one of the teachers' unions in 2000 (Ministry of Education, 2000). Union involvement is detrimental to a teacher's chance of promotion, and teachers are asked to relinquish union membership if they are promoted to vice-principal (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). In spite of these difficulties, the teachers' union is still an influential political group. For instance, pressure from the union was partially responsible for a recent decision by the Ministry of Education to permit ten years teaching experience as a substitute for two thirds of the units required to obtain a master's degree (M. Sato, 2000).

Reforming Teacher Education

Increasing reports of problems in the schools, including bullying and rebelliousness against teachers, have motivated policy makers to introduce some reforms in recommendations regarding teacher education (Ministry of Education, 1998b). For example, in order to deal with increasing bullying at school, courses related to student guidance and counseling were added to pre-service teacher education requirements. Teachers are also being encouraged to obtain a master's degree in order to enhance their professional skills. These revisions are aimed at the elementary and junior high school levels, where school issues have been most acute.

Although serious problems have not appeared at the preschool level, the government has also targeted enhanced training for teachers as an important means for improving the quality of care. In order to accommodate the increasing number of male child-care providers and to enhance the professional image of the job, the term *hobo*, meaning female child-care provider, was revised to the gender neutral term *hoikushi* in 1996. The 2000 guidelines for preschool education emphasize the role of teachers as "supporters" of children's play, which is considered to be the appropriate means for their learning and development.

In the past, preschools have tended to offer a more enriched educational program, while child-care centers emphasized health and safety.

Educational inequities therefore occur across regions, since there are regional differences in the proportion of each type of institution available for children. In order to provide equal educational opportunities, the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Health have promoted mutual collaboration and are attempting to facilitate contacts between preschool teachers and child-care providers at the local level. Furthermore, the ministries are attempting to adjust school curricula to provide common preparation for pre-service preschool teachers and child-care providers (Ishigaki, 2000; Moriue, 2000).

PEDAGOGY IN PRESCHOOLS AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

General Patterns of Preschool Programs

Japanese preschools tend to draw from an eclectic array of theoretical models. In terms of Japanese theorists, two points of view often receive particular mention (Ishigaki, 1991). Sozo Kurahashi, whose work initially came to prominence in the 1920s and 1930s, focused on the role of the teacher in cultivating children's capacity for warm, intimate relations with others. He viewed children as essentially curious, energetic and inherently social; according to Sozo the teacher should build on these basic strengths by affording many opportunities to play with peers, by capturing spontaneous learning opportunities rather than didactic teaching, and by creating a warm, joyful environment. A contrasting position is represented by the work of Mantaro Kido, who viewed children as inherently self-centered and argued that the role of teachers was to "direct children from the selfish life, which was their natural life, to the community life" (Ishigaki, 1991, p. 151). Kido disapproved of Kurahashi's emphasis on warmth, praise and acceptance, and focused on education as a means of repressing the child's egotistical nature. Among early educators in contemporary schools, Kurahashi's point of view may be more popular, but these contrasting views illustrate a central tension that continues to challenge many practitioners today (Holloway, 2000b).

Teacher education programs also provide students with some exposure to Western theories of education. Ethnographic studies of Japanese preschools find that some educators view Froebel as an influence (Holloway, 2000b), while others draw from Dewey's ideas about the social dimension of learning environments (Lewis, 1995). Certainly, the ideas of Piaget are compatible with the play orientation of many Japanese preschools. Piagetian concepts formed a basis for the guidelines for developmentally appropriate practice developed in the United States (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997), which in turn were used by the Japanese Ministry of Education in developing their own guidelines (although the ministry guidelines are

nowhere near as specific and detailed as their American counterparts). Montessori's ideas were also introduced to Japan during the 1920s, and continue to be popular. According to the Association of Montessori Internationale, three of their accredited 35 centers for training Montessori teachers are located in Japan (Association Montessori Internationale, 2001).

While elementary schools are generally rather uniform due to central control by the Ministry of Education, there is quite a bit of variability among preschools, making it somewhat difficult to make generalizations about them. Three common types of preschools have been identified by Holloway (2000) based upon a study of 32 preschools and child-care centers. Each type of school utilizes distinctive images and metaphors to describe young children and advocates a particular approach to activities, materials, and social relations. In "relationship-oriented" schools, the overall goal of the staff is to build the children's ability to form relationships with peers. Learning basic classroom routines is another important goal. Teachers in these schools try to entice students with the rewards of being part of a larger group. Children in relationship-oriented preschools are given a lot of time for free play but also engage in many group-oriented art and sports activities.

A second type of school has roots in more conservative Japanese traditions; in "role-oriented" schools, the basic curriculum consists of group instruction in academic skills. Children are taught to read and write at the first or second grade level; they also engage in memory-building activities, play musical instruments, and receive instruction in drawing and painting. Discipline tends to be strict in these schools, and free play is limited (see also DeCoker, 1993). In the third type, "child-oriented" schools, most of the day is devoted to free play, with few group activities and no direct instruction. Unlike in relationship-oriented schools, where children's access to materials is limited, child-oriented teachers tend to set up activity corners with materials for children to use when they want. The children have access to manipulatives and a variety of art materials, as well as supplies for fantasy play.

Teachers' Relationship with Students

Teachers' relationships with their students are affected by the number of students in their classes. Compared to the system in the United States, Japanese classes tend to be large. The maximum allowable class size in preschools is 35 students for 4- and 5-year-olds, and for elementary classrooms it is 45 students. Actual class size is significantly smaller in many schools; overall the average for elementary classes is 27.3, and for preschools it is 24.4 (Ministry of Education, 1999). This number has been dropping for

some time due to the steady decline in the birth rate. Compared to the United States, there may be more diversity within the Japanese typical elementary classroom as far as students' family background because Japanese neighborhoods are less segregated by income (N. Sato & McLaughlin, 1992).

The way in which Japanese teachers manage to maintain order and elicit superior performance from their numerous and diverse students has been a source of much speculation and observation by American researchers. While many teachers focus on sweetness—maintaining warm relations and a relaxed open classroom—others present a more forbidding exterior and use more authoritarian techniques. In some cases, a mixture of *ame to muchi* ("sweetness and the whip") is advocated (Holloway, 2000b).

Teachers' Affect Toward Students

Elements of warmth and strict control can be found in the contemporary research literature on the relations between Japanese teachers and students. Japanese teachers define their role differently from that of mothers even in preschools. Preschool is seen as providing an opportunity to learn the skills necessary for group life, and the emphasis is therefore on deepening peer relations and learning self-help skills rather than fostering dependence on the teacher (Peak, 1991; Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989). This orientation is particularly salient in role-oriented preschools, where teachers rarely speak to individual children in their classes except for a brief correction in the case of misbehavior or performing a task incorrectly (Holloway, 2000b). While some Japanese teachers view large class size as helpful in implementing the goal of acquainting the child with group life (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989), those in child-oriented preschools perceive it as an impediment to the individualized approach advocated by the Ministry of Education (Holloway, 2000b).

Most teachers in all types of Japanese early childhood settings try to make the classroom a welcoming place, and work to connect the child to the classroom community (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). At the beginning of the year, much emphasis is placed on creating a feeling of connection to the institution and one's classmates (Lewis, 1995). Most teachers adopt a cheerful and encouraging manner, and spend time during lunch and recesses actively engaged in conversing and playing with the children (Fujita & Sano, 1988). Teachers try to observe each child carefully and send home a daily note chronicling the child's eating, sleeping and toileting experiences (in preschools and child-care centers), as well as engagement with the day's learning activities (Benjamin, 1997).

The strategies used by Japanese teachers to prevent misbehavior in the classroom have received a lot of attention by Western writers. Most

accounts stress the tendency of Japanese teachers to be more tolerant of noise and misbehavior than Western teachers (Peak, 1991). Japanese teachers use peers for classroom management, appointing daily monitors (*touban*) and setting up small groups who monitor and correct each other. Many Japanese teachers also lessen their salience as authority figures by using nonverbal cues (e.g., playing chords on the piano) to call the children to attention or signal a move to the next activity. They tend to reinforce the "good child identity" by praising children for good actions or intentions (no matter how vague and unexpressed) rather than punishing misbehavior. They make constant appeals to children to think about others, anticipate their needs, and work together to make the classroom a happy place (Lewis, 1995). A study of elementary school teachers found that their ideal is a teacher who is motivated, caring, and kind; one who likes children; and one who has academic and teaching ability (Kinney, 1998).

Underlying this low key approach to discipline seems to be a Rousseauvian image of children as basically good and therefore in need of support and gentle guidance rather than harsh discipline (White & LeVine, 1987). Some Japanese researchers find that preschool teachers' images of children become more positive as they gain experience in the classroom. For instance, Yazawa's analysis (1993) demonstrates that experienced preschool teachers tend to view children as independent, competent thinkers while those with limited experience focus more on their innocence and naiveté. Takada (2000) has reported that child-care providers tend to perceive children as more aggressive and less knowledgeable than do preschool teachers. Takada comments that child-care providers' views may reflect a negative view of lower socio-economic families, who are more likely to attend child-care centers than preschools.

Sometimes, of course, teachers are unable to maintain this cheerful, light handed approach and resort to more negative sanctions in spite of their ideological preferences (Holloway, 2000b; Lewis, 1995). But there are also institutions where this more permissive approach is rejected on philosophical grounds in favor of a stricter system. In role-oriented preschools, staff may take on the role of strict disciplinarian, using such strategies as surveillance and shaming to control children's behavior.

Corporal punishment has been illegal in Japanese schools since 1947, but it continues to occur at all levels of Japanese schooling (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Japanese observers frequently express increasing concern about some teachers' controlling and authoritarian style, pointing it out as a factor explaining the growing number of children who refuse to attend school (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Survey research suggests that Japanese teachers tend to hold more authoritarian beliefs than do parents and other educational leaders. For instance, Kawamura and Kokubu (1996a, 1996b) discovered that elementary school teachers who hold strong "must" beliefs tend to use stricter discipline techniques; furthermore, they found higher

rates of student maladjustment in classrooms of teachers with control-oriented beliefs. While reports of teachers' use of humiliation, corporal punishment and other harsh techniques suggest it is more prevalent at the junior high school level than in elementary schools or preschools (e.g., Fukuzawa, 1994; Murakami, 1993), they are worth mentioning here to show that the "whip" as well as "sweetness" are cultural models associated with the role of teacher. Indeed, accounts from the period around World War II document use of corporal punishment in elementary schools (Cressy, 1955).

Teachers' Role in Fostering Social Relations

Use of Small Groups

A distinctive social structure used in preschools as well as elementary schools is the small group (called *han* in elementary school and *guruupu* in preschools). A group usually consist of 5 to 10 children. They are given a name (e.g., the Kittens) and teachers often refer to the group rather than the individual, particularly regarding matters of discipline (e.g., "Did everyone see what a great job the 'Kittens' did cleaning up their art materials?"). In elementary school, teachers usually try to balance the groups in terms of personality, attitude, and achievement; they do not believe in stratifying children according to ability, a common practice in the United States (Lewis, 1995).

At the elementary level, the small group structure serves a direct pedagogical function, in that it creates a vehicle by which stronger students can help weaker ones. There is a motivational function as well, as it promotes a feeling of belonging to children and provides a way of encouraging the less motivated students to follow the lead of more motivated group members. A third purpose is to teach children the skills of *shuudan seikatsu* (group life). And a fourth purpose is that group members are encouraged to monitor each others' behavior, and take on some of the disciplinary role that is held more exclusively by the teacher in the United States.

Although the small group structure is an important component of the Japanese approach, large scale observational studies reveal that Japanese elementary school children spend most of their time in teacher led, whole group activities. Stigler and Perry (1998) found in their assessment of 120 first and fifth grade classrooms that: "Japanese and Chinese students spent the vast majority of their time working, watching, and listening together as a class and were rarely divided into smaller groups" (p. 36). In Japan, the teacher was the leader of children's activities 74% of the time, as compared to 46% in the United States.

Teachers' Role in Scaffolding Children's Social Skills

In some Japanese preschools, the teachers help children develop competencies in interpersonal relationships. Holloway (2000b) cites the remarks of one teacher in a child-oriented school, "During free play the child interacts with peers who have different ideas. Through such interactions, the child understands that these differences exist...and he or she gradually develops an understanding of living together with others" (p. 100). According to staff in these schools, children's friendships with each other become the basis for effective group functioning. Directors in role-oriented schools did not view dyadic relations among children as particularly useful, and tended to provide almost no time for children to interact during free play.

According to Lewis (1995) and White (1987), many elementary school teachers try to enhance children's social relations as well. White observes that "teachers try to watch friendships developing between children, and act as counselors to those who might be having trouble socially" (1987, p. 118). Japanese teachers' ability to monitor and scaffold children's social relationships is enhanced by their active presence on the playground and during lunch time.

Teachers' Role in "Individual Capacity Building"

Contrary to the stereotypical view of the Japanese educator, many preschool teachers in Japan believe that children who have developed a strong sense of their own identity are better able to contribute to the welfare of the group. Holloway (2000b) found that staff in child-oriented preschools preferred smaller classes, arguing that, as one director put it, "Bringing out the best in each individual child is important, and having each individual child express his or her character is important. Also, having each individual child have confidence in himself or herself is important" (p. 97). In her ethnography of a Japanese elementary school, N. Sato (1996) also found that the teachers saw "individual-capacity building" and "group-community building" as complementary: "I discovered uniformity as the starting point for diversity, standardization as a catalyst for creativity, and individualization as a means to become group-oriented" (p. 120). In some schools, therefore, cultivating children's interests, deepening their communication skills, and helping them identify their emotions were all major elements of the curriculum.

The extent to which a teacher uses small groups, fosters dyadic relationships, and nurtures individual skills and dispositions will depend on his or her view of which processes best support the smooth, harmonious functioning of the classroom. While this overarching cultural model of "collectivism" guides many classrooms practices, there are distinctly different ways in which a "good group" is defined, and the strategies used to attain it.

Teachers' Role in Helping Children Learn Skills that Underpin Achievement

Promoting an Effort Orientation

The high academic achievement of Japanese children is often attributed to a cultural emphasis on trying hard (see Holloway, 1988 for a review). Compared to American children, Japanese children are more likely to attribute low achievement to lack of effort, and less likely to cite low ability as an important causal factor (Holloway et al., 1986; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). The tendency to make effort attributions is conducive to improving subsequent achievement, since the obvious remedy for low effort is trying harder next time, whereas there is no clear remedy for lacking ability other than just giving up. The Japanese effort orientation can be traced to a traditional emphasis on the role of self-discipline, which involves hardship, endurance, effort, and the utmost self-exertion. N. Sato (1996) observes that "...role perfection, or the commitment to do one's best, regardless of the status of one's role and despite all odds, is an important component of personal identity" (p. 123).

Teachers consciously promote an effort orientation in various ways. In the role-oriented preschools, teachers create conditions of mild hardship (e.g., training for a mini-marathon or going on a difficult hike) to boost their children's sense of responsibility and dedication to their goals (Holloway, 2000). Another way that effort is openly encouraged is the basic technique of exhortation. For example, in preschools and elementary schools, a lot of emphasis is placed on trying hard in preparing for the annual Sports Day, which features races, gymnastics routines and other events (Shigaki, 1983). In elementary classrooms, teachers post slogans and posters referring to the need for trying one's hardest at all times (Lewis, 1995). Teachers also discourage children from focusing on ability by avoiding evaluation in the forms of tracking, ability grouping, IQ testing, and other processes that emphasize innate differences across children (Holloway, 1988).

Creating Classroom Routines

Japanese teachers spend a great deal of time helping children follow routines and acquire regular habits. For example, children are expected to learn the correct way of unpacking and setting up their box lunch from home. They learn to spread out a small place mat, position their thermos at the top right corner and chopsticks to the side, remove the tops from containers, and wait without tasting anything until everyone is ready and has said grace. The emphasis on routines extends to the child's life outside school as well. Allison (1996) has noted that preschool teachers expect mothers to help their children stay on the school's time schedule even during vacations. Similar attempts are made to influence the lives of elemen-

tary school children, even during the time they are not at school. Lewis (1995) writes that "[s]chools provide rules governing students' use of time over vacation and weekends, asking, for example, that students rise early, exercise daily, and stay away from video parlors" (p. 142).

While teachers initially devote time and effort to showing children the proper routines for many behaviors, the goal is to lessen their involvement in such activities in future years (Peak, 1991). Through the mastery of routines, children are expected to become independent of adult help. In elementary school, transitions between activities are effected much more quickly in Japan than in the United States, and teachers are able to spend more time on instruction than on ensuring that children are quiet, have all their materials, and are ready to learn. While Americans might expect that the number of mandated routines would diminish as children grew older, in Japan they seem to proliferate, with observers in middle schools noting the existence of prescribed routines for everything from how to take a shower to how to exit and enter the bus during a field trip (Feiler, 1991; White, 1987).

In addition to such behavioral routines as cleaning the classroom, there are also routines for learning. For example, an important part of learning to write in the first grade is knowing the order of strokes when forming a character, and maintaining correct posture. Instruction in the Japanese language places a great deal of emphasis on reading aloud, including enunciating clearly, moving along at the right speed, finding the right volume, and so on. This continues throughout elementary school, by the end of which teachers expect "polished, read-aloud performances" (Benjamin, 1997, p. 122).

Evaluation

In many preschools with a social focus rather than an academic focus, there is little explicit evaluation of a student's products. But in role-oriented preschools and in elementary school, evaluation of one's work becomes an increasingly common part of being a student. While evaluation is frequent, public and directed at the individual, it is often carried out by peers rather than by the teacher. For example, in a reading lesson witnessed by Holloway (2000b), the entire preschool class judged the accuracy of responses given by individual children working at the board. Teachers in elementary schools also conduct evaluation in this way, asking students in math class, for example, to work problems at the board for scrutiny and evaluation by their seated classmates. Stigler and his colleagues found that this particular type of evaluation—having errors displayed to the class—occurred in 35% of all first grade evaluation segments in Japan, compared to 19% in the United States (Stigler & Perry, 1988).

In a study of question and answer sequences in first and second grade language arts classes in 10 Japanese schools, Dotera (1998) found that

teachers exercise "loose participatory control"; they call on children who raise their hands but not on those who do not, and they don't discourage children from making comments that are tangential to the topic under discussion. They commonly use a technique that Dotera refers to as "idea piling" in which the teacher accepts a "pile" of ideas about a topic, without ever specifying a correct answer. Dotera attributes this strategy to the teachers' belief that the differential ability of students should be concealed by the teacher's equal treatment. This emphasis on promoting equal opportunity has been found in other studies of Japanese teachers, and is mirrored in the Japanese practice of focusing on the slower-paced students rather than adjusting their pace to the more competent ones, as American teachers tend to do (Jacobs, Yoshida, & Stigler, 1997). A study reported in Okano and Tsuchiya (1999) found that 70% of Japanese teachers deliberately call on slow learners, while over 60% of American teachers do so with above-average students.

By avoiding evaluation, Japanese teachers hope to shift the focus to engaging the students' "feelings, predispositions, and opportunities for discovery rather than providing facts and getting an answer fast" (White, 1987, p. 115). Stigler and his colleagues found that, compared to American and Chinese classrooms, Japanese classrooms were "reflective" (Stigler & Perry, 1988, p. 40). Rather than getting them to find the correct answer, "Japanese teachers thus often try to slow their students down, asking them to think about a problem and how to solve it, then discuss their thoughts with the class, rather than rushing on to solve the problem" (p. 40). These strategies reflect the perception that the role of the teacher is to support children's autonomous learning processes rather than to serve as the expert authority (Azuma, 1994a, 1994b; Fujita & Sano, 1988; Mori, 1989). A study comparing the views of college students, novice teachers, and experienced teachers found that as teachers gain more experience, their view of teaching changes from focusing on transmitting of knowledge to working jointly with students to support their learning (Akita, 1996).

Teachers' Role in Reinforcing or Diluting Gender and Social Class Distinctions

Compared to the United States, Japanese society is composed of a less diverse population in terms of race, language, and socio-economic status. A goal of the Japanese centralized school system is to ensure that all students receive a good education regardless of background (M. Sato, 1998). Providing equal educational opportunity is one of the important goals of education shared by Japanese teachers. In spite of these goals there are inequities in the system, with schools in urban areas possessing greater resources than those in rural areas (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999), and there

are some class-related differences in the quality of the preschool programs in urban areas (Holloway, 2000b). Furthermore, as the child progresses into junior high school, children in wealthier families have access to private tutoring or attend *juku*, which are supplementary schools held after regular school hours (Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999). Indeed, Benjamin (1997) found that teachers perceive that children from families of high socio-economic status are more advantaged in learning at school. However, it appears that teachers avoid using socioeconomic status as a criterion for sorting or categorizing students within elementary classrooms, using personality, motivation and academic performance to create heterogeneous groups (N. Sato & McLaughlin, 1992). Similarly, preschool teachers tend to categorize students based on their personality characteristics, and consider these characteristics to be molded by the children's family settings (e.g., having siblings or living with grandparents) but not the family's socio-economic status (Shibano, 1989).

While the generally egalitarian philosophy of Japanese teachers leads them to disavow the goal of gender socialization, classroom observations demonstrate that teachers make frequent use of gender as a part of disciplining and teaching children. For example, they called attention to gender by forming lines based on gender or sorting children into groups based on gender. They also expressed stereotypical views of the skills and dispositions of boys and girls (Mori, 1989).

Relationships with Parents

While American teachers are often exhorted to "empower" parents, the difficulty of ceding power to parents while preserving their own professional identities and sense of standards has been observed at all levels of schooling (e.g., Lareau, 1989). There is a pervasive tendency for staff in the United States to expect parents to play a supportive role while relinquishing most important decision making to the school (Holloway & Fuller, 1999). Sociologists have long focused on incompatibilities created by the structural differences between the institutions of home and school. These incompatibilities transcend culture to the extent that these basic institutions are structured similarly in various societies. As large bureaucracies, schools differ from primary groups like the family as far as their goals, authority structures, and images of interpersonal relations.

Have Japanese mothers and educators resolved these inherent structural incompatibilities to achieve consensus on complementary roles, as some authors have found, or are parents expected to align their child-rearing views and strategies with those of school staff? Earlier studies of Japanese early education have tended to describe the relations between preschool and home as one of complimentarity rather than congruence.

Peak (1991) argues that the home and school are intended to fulfill very different functions in Japan, each of which is acknowledged and respected by both institutions. The primary goal in the preschools she studied was to help children develop the skills necessary for "group life." At home, on the other hand, mothers expected children to express child-like dependence (*amae*), and placed little pressure on them to demonstrate mature, restrained behavior. The teachers did not want mothers in the classroom, but expected them to support the school by providing a nutritious and attractively prepared box lunch, providing all required materials and items of clothing, and adhering to the school's suggestions about sleeping, eating and other habits outside school hours. As Peak (1991) observed, "The phrase 'Feel that you are also a new student in this preschool'...is a standard part of all advice to mothers of new students" (p. 62). Tobin and his colleagues (1989) have also argued that "to the degree a Japanese teacher allows herself to slip into a maternal relationship with a child in her care she has failed in her role as teacher" (p. 62).

The position of cultural consensus taken by Peak and Tobin has been challenged by Allison (1996), who argues that preschool staff members pressure mothers into advocating and supporting the school's goals and procedures. In her ethnographic study, preschool staff expectations were sometimes contested, although in a mild, understated manner, by the mothers. Often, the staff's views prevailed, their power deriving from their position as the first link in the chain of educational institutions that determine children's future success. Fujita (1989) presents a similar portrait of coercion, describing how the teachers at her son's child-care center criticized working mothers as selfish and lazy, overly dependent on the teachers, and incompetent as parents. She demonstrates how the staff attempted to dominate their interactions with mothers by controlling the agenda at meetings, focusing on children's problems rather than their strengths in conferences, and revealing to other parents details about each child's struggles and progress over the year. Holloway (2000a) also found that preschool directors and teachers tended to hold negative views of mothers. In the following passage, for example, a director expresses the view that many mothers were too permissive: "Mothers are...strict when it comes to children's schooling or academic achievement, but very permissive even when children do not observe social rules that are actually very important...Mothers often lack a long term perspective about how to raise their children" (p. 621).

The education guidelines put out by the Ministry of Education mention the importance of "close cooperation with homes" (Ministry of Education, 1998c); in these guidelines, it is suggested that schools make an effort to support and educate parents in their child-rearing role, but not that they include parents in school governance or policy-making bodies. Holloway (2000a) found that most directors offered occasional lectures for parents and distributed newsletters with advice on health and nutrition as well as

discipline, facilitating peer relations and other topics related to children's social development. Few directors sought extensive parent participation in the classroom. Public institutions are less dependent on parent tuition, and hence may be less likely than private preschools to change the curriculum in response to parent beliefs (Holloway, 2000b). To the extent that parents have a voice in school policies and procedures, it is a function of their power as consumers of child-care services in "buyer's market" conditions where the number of preschool slots exceeds the number of children available to fill them.

When their children enter elementary school, parents lose the financial leverage that they had, at least in the case of private preschools. The power dynamic shifts markedly in favor of the teachers, who expect mothers to support their children in a number of ways. First, mothers are expected to purchase, label, and monitor the organization and maintenance of a large amount of materials. For example, mothers may be expected to make padded seat covers that also serve as head protectors in the event of an earthquake. Every piece of equipment the child uses must be neatly labeled with the child's full name, including, for example, every single rod, stick, and counter in the box containing 100 mathematics manipulatives used in the first grade. Schools give mothers instructions regarding the regulation of home life, including advice on what to food to prepare, daily schedule, and so on. Similar to the practices used in the preschool, mothers are also given detailed instructions concerning their children's summer vacations. Mothers frequently receive written admonitions from their children's teachers when they are perceived as not fulfilling the school's requirements (Benjamin, 1997; Lewis, 1995).

Ultimately, as Benjamin (1997) notes, mothers are put in the position of legitimating the school's right to make a wide ranging array of demands that extend far beyond the purview of American schools; to do this while still retaining the close relationship with their children, mothers may "use their own potential shame as a goad to performance by the child," a tactic she refers to as "emotional blackmail" (p. 199). While some mothers pressure teachers—particularly in the older grades—to be tough with children in order to prepare them for examinations, many mothers of elementary school children do not feel they have a right to challenge the school even if they disagree (White, 1987). Even Benjamin, an American anthropologist whose two children were only attending a Japanese school for a year, found herself meekly giving in to teachers' demands that she considered silly or coercive. Her experience is echoed by foreign wives of Japanese nationals, who feel pressure to "renounce [the] privilege of being a home educator juxtaposed with school teachers" (Imamura, 1993, p. 19). The power of the school in a society built around "educational credentialism" is indeed formidable.

CONCLUSION

At times, studying Japanese education can be a schizophrenic experience. Typically, Western observers express admiration for the Japanese system, while the Japanese express deep reservations and heartfelt concerns. For example, many Japanese are extremely worried about the rise in serious incidents of bullying in elementary school and junior high school, about the growing number of children who refuse to attend school, and about the "collapse" of classrooms, in which unruly students openly rebel against their teachers. Yet, these problems occur with far greater frequency in the United States, Britain and other countries (Chiland & Young, 1990). Indeed, Japanese youth can be assessed favorably on almost any indicator of adjustment or achievement, including suicide, drug use, depression, violence, and teen age pregnancy. The general health and well being of Japanese youth have prompted outside observers to conclude that Japanese families and schools are functioning well. The attitude by Americans has been to view Japan as a model for good practices, and less interest is evinced in analyzing the problems or analyzing reform efforts. Horio and Sabouret (1990), critics of Japanese educational policy, summarize their dilemma, "How then to present an accurate and objective description of Japanese education, which some people highly prize and others bitterly condemn? What can one say about an educational system that is denounced as an aberration or lauded as a paragon of virtue according to the requirements of discussion?" (p. 47).

In this chapter, we have tried to present a balanced view of the role of teachers in the Japanese early education system. Certain positive elements are salient. The traditional value placed on education has resulted in a measure of occupational dignity afforded to all teachers, including those in the two pre-primary systems. Compared to Americans, the Japanese are more likely to encourage young children to participate in a group education experience, and they respect the skills of those who are able to provide that experience to children. Accordingly, the government is willing to pay providers and teachers a living wage. While work conditions are difficult, they are better than those experienced by women in part time jobs, where security and benefits are largely unavailable.

On the other hand, teachers' salaries do not rise with seniority to the same extent as those of their peers in other fields. Preschool teachers working in private institutions are subject to lower salaries, and are often prevented from changing jobs by the practice of hiring new teachers directly from college rather than using those with prior teaching experience. Some teachers voice their concern about their long hours, the lack of flexibility in the curriculum, the centrally enforced pace of instruction, the increasing number of rebellious students, the heavy handedness of administra-

tors, and, in the later grades, the pressure of preparing children for entrance examinations for high school and college.

In many sectors besides the public school system, Japan is reviewing the cultural and structural elements that support or undermine employees' ability to do good work and to maintain a healthy balance between work and their family obligations and desires. The level of sacrifice required is still quite high, making it difficult for women with children to contemplate full time employment without fearing significant negative consequences for their quality of life and that of their families. For teachers in the early childhood profession, most of whom are women, this remains a major issue. Yet, retention of good teachers seems of paramount importance; it is simply a waste of society's resources to invest in college level training for women who only remain in the work place for an average of four or five years. These concerns, along with the perception that women who desire to remain in a professional position feel they must opt out of marriage and child rearing, create a sense of urgency as the policy makers and educators address the underlying attitudes and policies that make it both difficult—and rewarding—to be a teacher in Japan.

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CHAPTER 11

IMPROVING TEACHER QUALITY

Olivia N. Saracho and Bernard Spodek

Over the past decade, researchers as well as national and state policy makers, have been concerned with reforming early childhood teacher preparation programs towards inquiry-based instructional approaches. During this decade, the demands for increased teacher learning have been emphasized, most likely as a result of pressures from forces such as the standards movement. Education reformers have suggested there should be higher standards for teachers and students. They believe that teachers need new knowledge about curriculum, methods of teaching and assessment in order to achieve these standards. As a result, there has been a call for increased professional development to improve and to modify teaching practices (Wilson & Berne, 1999). Unfortunately, the American community has not been willing to pay for what it takes to improve the quality of teachers for both public and nonpublic early childhood education programs. The community seems to prefer hiring lower paid teachers rather than pay for higher quality ones.

The effect of teacher quality on students' learning cannot be undervalued (Evans, Stewart, Mangin, & Bagley, 2001). The quality and nature of early childhood programs primarily depend on the ability and disposition

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of the teachers who staff them. A series of observational studies (Cho & Saracho, 1997; Saracho, 1984, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d) identify the roles that teachers assume in the classroom as curriculum designer, organizer of instruction, counselor/advisor, decision maker, performer of instruction, researcher, and manager of administrative affairs. As a result of these studies, Saracho (1984) concluded that the teacher roles identified in the original studies be revised to integrate the roles of organizer of instruction and manager of learning; and that unsophisticated tasks, such as cleaning, be referred to as "teachers' responsibilities" since teachers are assigned these tasks (Saracho, 1993).

Understanding the teachers' roles can offer a conceptual framework for determining the quality of good teachers (Saracho, 1984, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d) and can provide a way to bridge the gap between the realities of teachers' experiences and their perceived images of themselves. It can also assist teacher preparation programs to develop insight about the nature of teaching and the roles of teachers for which novices should be prepared (Ben-Peretz, 2001).

As the educational reform movement has developed, local school systems have initiated efforts to institute higher academic standards and accountability systems for teachers. Sack (2000) concludes that ". . . teacher quality would ultimately determine the success of such efforts" (p. 25). However, Feiman-Nemser (2001) cautions that teacher preparation programs understand the distinction between conventional approaches to teaching, induction and professional development, and the challenges of teaching in a reform-minded fashion. She believes that promising programs and practices should consider three questions: (a) What are the central tasks of teacher preparation, new teacher induction, and early professional development? (b) How well do conventional arrangements address these central tasks? and (c) What are some promising programs and practices at each stage in the learning-to-teach continuum that promote standards-based teaching and enable teachers to become active participants in school reform?

Researchers, educators, and policymakers have been focusing on the best ways to guarantee that the nation's classrooms are staffed with high quality, well-trained teachers. This issue is of critical importance in increasing educational effects, especially considering the large number of new teachers that will be in demand over the next decade. This demand is the result of the anticipated the increase in enrollment and monumental number of teacher retirements that will take place (Goldhaber & Brewer, 2000; Lankford & Wyckoff, 1997). Darling-Hammond (1996) estimates that half of all teachers who will be teaching 10 years from now will be hired in the next decade. The National Commission for Teaching and American's Future (1996) reports, "more new teachers will be hired in the next decade than in any previous decade in our history" (p. 76) and affirms that countless of the recently hired teachers are poorly prepared for the job. The fear

is with teachers with temporary, provisional, or emergency licenses, or with no license at all that may be hired to fill vacant positions. A similar concern can be raised for those teachers who are entering the early childhood education teaching profession.

Early childhood education has been defined as the education of children from birth through age eight. This includes children in the primary grades (grades 1-3), kindergartens, and preschools, including nursery schools, child care centers, Head Start programs, and other programs for children below school entrance age. The country's early education and child care establishment has increased exponentially over the past three decades. The importance of this educational area is evident in the first goal in the *Goals 2000* statement that stated that by the year 2000 every child would be "ready to learn" upon entering school. Expenditures on preschool and child care programs, ranging from Head Start to child care requisitions, escalated from approximately $1.5 billion in the late 1980s to over $8 billion at the end of the century (Fuller & Holloway, 1996; Council of Economic Advisers, 1998). Kindergarten has become universal in our country and numerous states, including Georgia, Illinois, and New York, have been expanding their early education programs during this period to include children below kindergarten age, especially those who have disabilities and those who are considered at risk of future educational failure. Public finance of this sector has quadrupled in California since the mid-1990s allowing $3.5 billion for the 2001 fiscal year. The institutional and economic forces that have supported the expansion of early education have also limited the quality of the persons who staff the programs (Fuller & Strath, 2001). The teachers in public school programs, including those teaching prekindergarten, kindergarten and primary classes, must meet state teacher certification requirements. However, those in the nonpublic sector, who are primarily responsible for the care and education children in the lower age range of the field, meet much less stringent requirements.

Because of the differences in requirements for practitioners in different sectors of the early childhood education field and because of the differences in the educational needs of children at different levels within the early childhood developmental period, the initial preparation of early childhood personal is quite varied. This situation makes the issues around early childhood teacher preparation quite complex. Few, if any institutions prepare teachers adequately to serve all children from birth to age eight. Most programs prepare teachers for only a portion of the early childhood age range. In addition, programs of teacher education that serve prekindergarten, kindergarten and primary grade programs are typically in four year colleges and universities while those who prepare teachers for child care and private preschool programs are typically in two year community colleges or vocational schools. Actually, many child care teachers have only minimal preparation for employment (Powell & Dunn, 1990; Spodek & Saracho, 1996). Early childhood education programs may differ and the

purposes they serve. Some early childhood programs describe themselves as educational programs, whereas others describe themselves as primarily concerned with child care. In fact, all early childhood programs carry out both an educational and a child caring purpose, though different programs may place greater emphasis on one or the other (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1996a).

The education levels of workers offer some insight into the quality of early education programs. Fuller and Strath (2001) show in their study that most teachers in preschool centers had completed some college training, while child care workers' attainment levels were lower. Neither group, however, reached the level of the qualifications of teachers in public school kindergartens.

TEACHERS COMPETENCIES IN A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS

Early childhood teachers, in any setting, need a body of knowledge and skills they can apply. Scholars have recommended that such a knowledge base include child development knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, knowledge of learning and teaching styles, and knowledge of how to promote creativity. Since the home and school have joint responsibility for young children's education, teachers should know how to nurture the relationship between the home and school, acquiring appropriate knowledge and becoming competent in work with parents and the community. They must know about: (a) the informal teaching and learning that occur in children's homes; (b) the processes and circumstances within the family that impact on children's acquisition of knowledge and skills that allow them to succeed in school; (c) the environmental effects on the family's capacity to promote learning; (d) the similarities and differences between educational systems in the home and school; and (e) ways to build closer relationships between home education and classroom instruction. Teachers need to become sensitive to different family forms, family ecologies, and views of effective family functioning. Understanding children's learning in home and community settings can identify the distinctive characteristics of school instruction and its role in the overall education of young children.

Early childhood teachers constitute a diverse group of individuals who have different preparation levels, different career classifications, different working situations, and are employed by different agencies and institutions. There are also differences in the type of early childhood teacher education programs in which they have been prepared and their levels of preparation are different.

The situation regarding the preparation of early childhood teacher that we find in the United States is not universal. In numerous countries (such

as England, Australia, and Israel) early childhood teachers are prepared in four-year bachelor degree programs. In several countries, such as Japan and Korea, kindergarten teachers are prepared at both two-year and four-year institutions, though most are graduates of two-year colleges (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1996b). Other countries (e.g., People's Republic of China) prepare their early childhood teachers in what they refer to as "normal schools," which may be the equivalent of high schools, though this situation is changing rapidly (Spodek & Saracho, 1988, 1996b). The level of preparation of these early childhood practitioners and the conditions under which they practice affect their level of professionalism (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1996a).

THE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION PROFESSION

The "learned professions" (e.g., law, medicine, clergy) were originally conceived as those occupations which demanded a high degree of preparation in liberal arts or science; the work associated with these professions generally consisted of mental rather than physical functions. Lower level professions (e.g., teaching, social work, nursing) have been referred to as *semi-professions.* These require less preparation and their status is considered to be at a lower level.

Teaching, within this framework, is considered a semi-profession; the preparation of teachers is considerably less than that of doctors or lawyers and their status is lower. Early childhood practitioners, especially those outside of the public schools, have considerably less status, lower salaries along with limited benefits—and they are required to have even less preparation. Many early childhood practitioners would like the teaching field to become a more professionalized one, while others recommend that a model of craftsmanship is more acceptable. Since teaching is considered to be neither scientific nor systematic, its practice suggests an individual, expressive procedure (Spodek, Saracho, & Peters, 1988b).

Some early childhood educators have conceived of professionalism as a developmental process: the longer one remains in the field, the higher the level of professionalism one attains. Vander Ven (1988), for example, uses a developmental perspective to propose five professionalism levels:

1. novice,
2. initial practitioner,
3. informed practitioner,
4. complex practitioner, and
5. influential practitioner.

She identifies each level in relation to the roles and functions of the practitioner at each developmental level, the level of preparation required, and

the direction of its practice. Katz (1988) asserts that the qualities of a profession are its:

1. fundamental necessity to society;
2 hereditary inducement of altruism;
3 practitioners' high degree of autonomy;
4 possession of a code of ethics;
5 practitioners' degree of distance from their clients;
6 practice standards;
7 entrants' extended training period; and
8 specialized knowledge that is a backbone for practice.

Katz (1988) believes that the members of the early childhood community need to join forces and bargain for an agreement appertaining to the principles of professional practice for the field.

A range of professional levels can be identified within the early childhood education field. The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) (1984) endorses a position statement identifying four professionalism levels:

1 *Early Childhood Teaching Assistant* absolves practitioners from any preparation;
2 *Early Childhood Associate Teacher* can obtain either a Child Development Associate Credential or an associate degree in early childhood education or child development;
3 *Early Childhood Teacher* completes a bachelor's degree in early childhood education or child development; and
4 *Early Childhood Specialist* has both the bachelor's degree and a minimum of three years of early childhood teaching experience and/or an advanced degree.

Since each professional level requires a different level of preparation, its expectation for assuming responsibility for the education of young children also differs. Although NAEYC may amend this statement in the future, it still offers useful guidelines in identifying the early childhood practitioners' degree of responsibility and their level of preparation (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1996a).

In 1977 the United States Department of Labor's *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* gives a low skill-level rating to child care workers and nursery school attendants, which supports the notion that early childhood education has not achieved the status of a professional field, even if it has a knowledge base. However, its intimate bond with both education and child development suggests that it can be judged to some degree a profession. Furthermore, early childhood teachers in public schools and non-public

preschool contexts have somewhat high educational levels (Bloom, 1992) and thus can be considered more professional.

The criteria for a profession refer to the quality of preparation of practitioners and that preparation should take place at the college or university level. The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC, 1982) has provides guidelines for four- and five- year teacher education programs which the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) uses to assess the quality of early childhood teacher education programs in the accreditation process. NAEYC (1982) also provides comparable guidelines for two-year associate degree programs, even though these programs are not accredited by NCATE or any other accrediting agency. Associate degree programs are similar in structure to those at the four-year institutions, except that a considerable larger portion of four-year teacher education programs focuses on general education. Moreover, two-year programs generally contain more technical or practical content; whereas four-year programs include a more professional or theoretical content. An alternative to certification in early childhood teacher education is the Child Development Associate (CDA) Credential. This was originally a credentialing system based on a demonstration of competencies. It presently also includes a training dimension which falls below the level of an associate degree.

As noted above, in the United States today, early childhood teachers are prepared to be teachers in public school programs or teachers in child care and non-public school programs. Although some certified teachers are employed in child care centers or other nonpublic school programs, and some graduates of community college programs may complete their preparation in four-year colleges or universities, the two different routes are primarily independent of one another. Whether it is possible to integrate the two types of employment and the preparation necessary for each—that is allowing practitioners to move from a CDA to an associate degree, to a bachelors degree and, ultimately, to receive teacher certification—is a question that the field continues to consider. Preparation for the CDA credential, however, is often folded into associate degree programs in community colleges.

The mechanism of a career ladder, permitting early childhood teachers to advance through the various stages of preparation to higher levels of professionalism, has not been fully approved and has been challenged—typically, vocationally aligned courses from community colleges are not transferable to senior college or university programs. In addition, early childhood teachers with lower qualifications are often reluctant to continue their formal education. They have often had less successful school careers. In contrast, those with the highest qualifications are more inclined to continue their professional education, which contradicts the requirements necessary to advance in a career ladder (Saracho & Spodek, 1993; Spodek & Saracho, 1982, 1996a).

PROFESSIONALIZING EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Improving the level of professionalism among early childhood teachers requires that standards be raised in their levels of preparation and in the credentialing and certification Professionalizing the field needs to consider the teachers' performance and behaviors. Presently several issues have been raised in relation to professionalism in early childhood education. Spodek, Saracho and Peters (1988a) raise the following seven questions:

1. How do we establish standards of quality for practitioner in the field?
2. What standards of early childhood professionalism are reasonable in the field?
3. How should entry into the field be determined?
4. Should the field of early childhood education become more exclusive or inclusive? How should standards be applied—and by whom?
5. How should gender and economic issues be dealt with?
6. How should we define professional knowledge and values?

In raising the level of professionalism in the field it is important to consider the consequences of these actions. While there may be benefits, there may also be costs involved. The distance between practitioners and parents may increase. There may be individuals who might make good early childhood practitioners who will be limited from joining the field. These and other considerations represent a challenge that early childhood educators will encounter with any action that is taken to increase the level of professionalism among practitioners in the field of early childhood education (Spodek, Saracho, & Peters, 1988a).

Raising the level of professionalism of practitioners will affect the nature of early childhood teacher education programs, increasing the cognitive content of these courses and focusing them on helping to think about what they do as well as to increase their performance competencies. Teachers' thought processes determine the basis for the decisions teachers make and help teachers understand the theories and beliefs that underlie their practice. They are critical in developing the intellectual basis for practice (Spodek & Saracho, 1990b)

In improving the level of professionalism among early childhood teachers, Spodek and Saracho (1990b) offered a set of predictions. These predictions have been reviewed and revised and are presented in their new form as follows:

1. *The field of early childhood education will continue to expand and there will be an increasing need for early childhood practitioner.* The social changes that led to an increased demand for early childhood programs in recent years will continue. The birth rate in the United States shows no sign

of decreasing, mothers of young children continue to enter the work force, and early childhood programs are increasingly seen as important in the education and development of young children.

2. *Children enrolled in early childhood programs will become more diverse, making teaching a more complex task.* Not only will increasingly younger children be enrolled in early childhood programs, but also the children in these programs will be an even more diverse group. They will come from different backgrounds and will enter programs with a wider range of skills and abilities. Children from cultural and linguistic minorities will be an increasingly larger proportion of the student population, both from an increase in births and from the continued immigration to America. In addition, there will be continued pressure to educate young children with diverse abilities—from those with disabilities to those who are considered gifted—in regular classrooms.
3. *Early childhood teachers will become increasingly responsible for out-of-classroom activities.* More home-based programs for younger children will develop and there will be an increase in the range of parent education components in early childhood programs. These programs will assume increased responsibility for the health, nutrition and welfare of young children, requiring teachers to have a broader base of knowledge in education, health, nutrition and social services.
4. *The distinction between the care and education of young children and between practitioners who provide these services will continue.* There has been a desire in the field of early childhood education to bring the many services to young children together and to integrate care and education. While the idea is worthy, pressures exist to keep the programs distinct. The costs for child care programs are different from those for educational programs as are the services provided. The cost for personnel are different, with teachers in education programs getting larger salaries, but many additional services are provided in child care. The hours are longer and, especially for young children, the staff-child ratios are higher.
5. *There will continue to be distinct levels of professionalism among early childhood practitioners and varied ways of entering the field.* Even when the field of early childhood education was small, it was quite diverse, as were its practitioners. Practitioners have always entered the field with different levels and different kinds of preparation. Some were prepared in the field of education, others in child development, psychology and social work. The continued existence of diverse programs of preparation of teachers of young children suggests that practitioners with a range of backgrounds will continue to enter the field.
6. *The move toward providing better educated and better prepared teachers of young children will continue.* The requirements for certified teachers, especially in the area of general education, are increasing. In addition, Head Start programs are requiring that at least half their teaching staff

have some degree—probably an associate degree—in the near future. There is also a move to improve the educational backgrounds of practitioners in child care. Project T.E.A.C.H., in Illinois and in other states, is providing scholarships and financial support to child care practitioners to enroll in colleges and increase their professional preparation. Other sources of finances are also being tapped for the same purpose (Spodek, 2002).

7. *Training programs or early childhood personnel in community colleges and vocations schools will continue to expand.* Because of the increased demand for child care personnel, these programs are expanding. Unfortunately, though many students begin these programs, they do not always complete them, because regulations require so little preparation and because many centers provide no incentives to complete them (the pay for those with an associate degree and those with only a few credits may not differ). Since many of these programs offer preparation for the Child Development Associate credential, the changes in Head Start regulations may lead these schools to focus more on the associate degree.
8. *There will be an expanded use of electronic media in the preparation of early childhood personnel.* Increasingly colleges and universities are using electronic media to offer classes away form campuses. The evolution of distance education allows the college programs to come to the students, rather than the students needed to come to the physical college campus. This has great implications for the professional development of early childhood personnel, allowing staff development activities to be delivered to the practitioner's community, the center employing the practitioner an even to the practitioner's home. Videotape, satellite television, and the Internet can serve as the medium of instructional delivery. Computers can also allow teachers to network with colleagues within and beyond their communities as well as with faculty in college and universities. This could change the way in which knowledge is transmitted and shared within the early childhood education field as it has done in other areas of society.
9. *Professional associations will continue to press for higher standards of practice and for entrance to the field of early childhood education.* Organizations such as NAEYC have continued to work for higher standards for programs for young children and for practitioners in these programs. They created the Center Accreditation Program to set a voluntary standard for early childhood centers that was higher than that established by state licensing agencies. They have also set standards for 4-and 5-year programs of teacher education as well as for programs in community colleges. They have worked with the NCATE to implement their standards in programs leading to certification in teacher education. Too often the standards set by the association are seen as goals to be achieved rather than least acceptable standards. However, these stan-

dards have become increasingly recognized it the field and in the community at large.

10. *There will be a continued expansion of the knowledge base of early childhood education practice.* There has been a continuing flow of research related to early childhood education that has been shared with the field. While university professors conduct much of this research, increasingly teachers are also being seen as legitimate conductors of educational research. Often research projects are conducted jointly. In addition we are constantly looking to the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology and other social science field s that can inform early childhood education practice.

These predictions are probabilities rather than certainties. Nevertheless, there are signs that we are moving in these directions in our understanding of the theory and practice of teacher education as well as our understanding of the nature of teaching young children and preparing teachers of young children. We can use our developing knowledge to impact on the field and to make for a better future for young children and for their teachers.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Jackie M. Blount is Associate Professor of Historical, Philosophical, and Comparative Studies in Education at Iowa State University. She completed her doctoral studies at the University of North Carolina in 1993. Since then she has received the Thomas Urban Award for Education Research and the ISU Award for Early Achievement in Teaching. Her work has been published in such journals as the *Harvard Educational Review* and *Review of Educational Research.* She has written *Destined to Rule the Schools: Women and the Superintendency, 1873-1995* and is completing a book exploring the history of gender transgression, broadly defined, in public school employment. Currently she serves as Associate Dean of the ISU College of Education.

Martha J. Buell is Associate Professor in the Department of Individual and Family Studies, College of Human Services, Education and Public Policy, University of Delaware. She holds a bachelors degree from Vanderbilt University (1981), a masters from Tulane University (1992) and a doctorate from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in Human Development and Family Studies (1996). Dr. Buell has published several journal articles and book chapters concerning child care quality and child care providers' professional development. In 1997 she became the director of the University of Delaware's Early Head Start program, which is run through the University's Center for Disabilities Studies.

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Jóhanna Einarsdóttir is Associate Professor of Early Childhood Education at Iceland University of Education. She received her teacher certificate in Iceland and her B.A. in Elementary Education, her M.Ed. in Educational Psychology and her Ph.D. in Early Childhood Education from the University of Illinois. Her professional interests include early childhood education, early childhood teacher education and qualitative methodology. She is currently conducting research projects in these areas and has published her work in the United States and in Europe.

Joy Goodfellow is a senior lecturer at the University of Western Sydney where she holds the position of Academic Co-ordinator of Early Childhood Professional Experience. She earned her PhD from the University of. Her current research interests involve using narrative inquiry methods to gain insights for exploring the values, beliefs and images held by student teachers and early career teachers. She is actively involved in the early childhood community and has conducted funded research investigating the extensive use of multiple child care arrangements on a regular basis and grandparents as informal caregivers. She has published articles in national and international early childhood and teacher education journals.

Susan D. Holloway is a faculty member in Education at the University of California, Berkeley. She received a doctorate in Child Development and Early Childhood Education from Stanford in 1983. She has also taught at the University of Maryland, College Park and Harvard University. Her research has focused on family socialization and early childhood education in diverse communities within the United States and Japan. Her most recent book is *Contested Childhood: Diversity and Change in Japanese Preschools*, published by Routledge in 2000.

Glenda Mac Naughton is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education, at the University of Melbourne where she established and now directs the Centre for Equity and Innovation in Early Childhood. She has worked across all sectors as a practitioner and a manager and she has been a senior policy advisor to government in the UK and Australia. Glenda has a passionate interest in social justice and equity issues in early childhood and has published widely, nationally and internationally, on these issues. Her two most recently published books explore approaches to rethinking gender in early childhood and to research in early childhood. She is currently researching how gender, class and race intersect and construct young children's learning, how teachers explore contemporary issues in the early childhood curriculum and staff-parent relations in early childhood.

Donald L. Peters is Amy Rextrew Professor in the College of Human Services, Education and Public Policy, University of Delaware. He holds a bachelors degree from Brown University (1960), a Masters from Northeast-

ern University (1965) and a doctorate from Stanford University in Education and Psychology (1968). Dr. Peters is the author or editor of nine books. He has published more than 60 journal articles or book chapters in edited volumes. He has been project director or principal investigator on more than thirty projects funded by federal and state agencies or private foundations. He has served as a reviewer or member of the editorial board for numerous journals and has served as a board member or consultant to many public and private agencies.

Olivia N. Saracho is a professor at the University of Maryland. She has taught Head Start, preschool, kindergarten, and elementary classes and was the Director of the Child Development Associate Program at Pan American University in Edinburg, Texas. Her current research and writing is in the area of cognitive style, academic learning, and teacher education. She is the author of several articles and books on cognitive style (e.g., *Teachers' and Students' Cognitive Styles in Early Childhood Education* published by Greenwood) and on teacher education (e.g., *Early Childhood Teacher Preparation, Professionalism and the Early Childhood Practitioner* published by Teachers College Press, and *Teacher Preparation for Early Childhood Education* published by Gordon and Breach).

Peter Sleegers is Professor of Educational Sciences, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

Jennifer Sumsion is a senior lecturer at the Institute of Early Childhood, Macquarie University in Sydney, and the coordinator of the Institute's field work program. She earned her PhD from the University of Sydney. Her current research interests include early childhood teacher education, the experiences of early career teachers, and issues associated with the gender imbalance in the early childhood workforce and the recruitment of men to children's services. She has published widely in teacher education and early childhood education journals. With J. Gary Knowles and Ardra Cole, she co-edited a theme issue of "Teacher Education Quarterly" focusing on the role and meaning of research in teacher education.

Donna Tafuri has been an Adjunct Professor at Anne Arundel Community College, Arnold Maryland since 1995. Dr. Tafuri has taught at several higher education institutions in the Washington, DC metropolitan area, including the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland; Howard Community College, Columbia, Maryland; and Prince George's Community College, Largo, Maryland. Prior to 1995, Dr. Tafuri was an early childhood teacher employed by Prince George's County Board of Education, Upper Marlboro, Maryland. She has had the pleasure of teaching children ages two to eight years of age.

Rudolf van den Berg is Professor of Educational Sciences, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands. His research covers a broad range of issues pertaining to educational innovation. His most recent publications can be found in the list of references.

Yoko Yamamoto is a doctoral student in Education at the University of California, Berkeley. She received her undergraduate training in Child Development at Kobe College in Japan, and completed a Master's degree in Sociology at the same college in 1993. Her Master's thesis was about the transformation of the educational system and its impact on children's role and space in Japan. Her interests include families, parenting, and early childhood education in Japan as well as in cross-cultural settings.

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